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Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Meet in Budapest

Opening Announced

LD2811144989 Budapest MTI in English 1244 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 28 (MTI)—The session of the Warsaw Treaty Defence Ministers' Committee opened in Budapest Tuesday. Attending are Army General Pyotr Lushev, commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Treaty United Armed Forces, and Army General Vladimir Lobov, deputy commander-in-chief.

In his opening, Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence, pointed out the gaining ground of favourable tendencies in international life and the easing of East-West relations. He expressed his conviction that the transformation of international relations was primarily due to the new political thinking adopted by the Soviet Leadership, its greater spirit of compromise and higher flexibility, accompanied by the constructive foreign policy of Warsaw Treaty members and the change in Western attitudes.

The defense minister was of the opinion that the international image of the organization and the credibility of its disarmament intentions had improved in the wake of proposals, compromises and unilateral measures which did not affect their security interests and mitigated traditional Western fears of military threat from the Warsaw Treaty.

The colonel-general noted with satisfaction that the alliance, including the Soviet Union, had retained the initiative in the disarmament process up to the present. As the danger of mutual and complete annihilation continues to exist, efforts should be made to gradually reduce the vast nuclear arsenals. The Warsaw Treaty members consistently work to render disarmament lasting and irreversible.

For this reason, the Warsaw Treaty members take a resolute stand against the endeavours of forces demanding compensatory military measures, as they are aware that rearmament with new types of weapons may reduce or even invalidate the favourable effects of the agreement on the abolition of medium and shorter-range nuclear weapons.

Mr Karpati stressed Hungary's conviction that all countries of the alliance are interested in reaching a comprehensive agreement in the Vienna talks which would help to eradicate the elements of suspicion and hostility from East-West relations, and contribute to a new security relationship and partnership between the countries.

Mr Karpati said that the agreement on the concrete reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe requires profound changes in the doctrines of both the NATO and Warsaw Treaty, and stemming from this are the demand and possibility that the new security policy concept and statements of principle of the socialist countries should be reinforced not only from the political side of doctrines but also from military-technical aspects.

In conclusion, Mr Karpati said that, on the basis of the Bucharest Resolution of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee in July 1989 and the previous decisions of the Defence Ministers' Committee, the sides are to put forward and discuss five important and topical issues that serve the modernization of the joint armed forces and their defensive doctrine, and the cooperation of brothers-in-arms. The consultation is to end with the acceptance of a closing document on Thurday.

'Defensive Doctrine' Emphasized

LD2811154789 Moscow TASS in English 1421 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest November 28 TASS—The Warsaw Treaty committee of defence ministers opened its 24th session in the Hungarian capital today to discuss further perfection of the united armed forces with the emphasis laid on defensive military doctrine.

The meeting is attended by: Army General Dobri Dzhurov, Bulgarian defence minister, Colonel General Ferenc Karpati, Hungarian defence minister, Admiral Theodor Hoffmann, GDR defence minister, Army General Florian Siwicki, Polish defence minister, Colonel General Vasile Ilea, Romanian defence minister, Army General Dmitriy Yazov, Soviet defence minister, Lieutenant General Emil Liska, deputy defence minister of Czechoslovakia, Army General Petr Lushev, commander-in-chief of the united armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty, and Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief of staff of the united armed forces.

The meeting will end on November 30.

Lushev on Pact Military Doctrine

LD2811180289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1503 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, 28 Nov (TASS)—The military doctrine of Warsaw Pact participant states is strictly defensive and proceeds from the fact that in present-day conditions, the use of the military path to resolve any difficult issue is impermissible. Our doctrine gives wide scope for the development of dialogue between the Warsaw Pact organization and NATO and for reinforcing stability in Europe, said the commander in chief of the united armed forces of Warsaw Pact states, Army General Petr Lushev. He gave an interview today to TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy, in connection with the opening in the capital of the Hungarian Republic of a regular meeting of the Committee of Defense Ministers of Warsaw Pact states.

Army General P. Lushev recalled that the Committee of Defense Ministers will discuss prospects for the further perfection of the united armed forces of Warsaw Pact

states, taking into account the concept of defense sufficiency and the possible results of the Vienna talks on further reductions to conventional armed forces and weapons.

The main point of this concept lies in the fact that the numerical and qualitative strength of the united armed forces should be commensurate with the degree of the military threat. It should be determined by minimal real requirements of the security of the countries of the Warsaw Pact while preserving approximate military and strategic parity between the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

The military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact states is aimed at preventing war and is an instrument of peace. Its political aspect reflects the obligation of all allied countries never, in any circumstances whatsoever, to begin military actions against any state or alliance of states unless they themselves are subjected to aggression.

Putting their defense doctrine into practice, the countries of the Warsaw Pact are continuing unilaterally to reduce armed forces and conventional armaments, are imparting to them a clearly expressed defensive and nonoffensive structure, and are reducing the manufacture of armaments and military expenditures. Favorable conditions are being created by this for the further limitation of armaments and the lowering of the level of military confrontation, Army General Petr Lushev stressed in conclusion.

TASS Reports Gremitskikh News Briefing 28 Nov

POW's Return From Afghanistan

LD2811154189 Moscow TASS in English 1519 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—Soviet people were gratified to learn that two Soviet prisoners of war were handed over in Peshawar to the Soviet Embassy in Pakistan in the presence of relatives and a delegation of the Soviet Committee Nadezhda (Hope), Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh said at a briefing here today.

The Soviet peace fund will hold a news conference in this connection in the coming days, he said.

Gremitskikh expressed deep gratitude to all the sides that made a big contribution to the release of Soviet prisoners of war.

He voiced hope that there will be other instances of the handing over of Soviet prisoners of war that were taken prisoner By Afghan rebels to the Soviet Union.

Central America Situation

LD2811161689 Moscow TASS in English 1556 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—Irrespective of circumstances that prompted the government of El Salvador to virtually break off diplomatic relations with Nicaragua, this step evokes regret, since it goes beyond the framework of bilateral relations, thereby creating yet another obstacle to a continuation of the negotiating process in Central America, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh said at a briefing here today.

The situation in the region has become aggravated still further as a result of this step, he emphasised.

The lack of progress in the Central American settlement process gives rise to mounting concern in the world, the spokesman said. This finds its manifestation in statements made by governments and international organisations.

In this connection, touching upon the recent statement by the Rio-De-Janeiro group, Gremitskikh recalled that the statement contained a call for an immediate ceasefire in El Salvador, the restoration of the negotiating process as an important element of the entire regional settlement procedure and an appeal to all the countries concerned to promote a search for a peaceful settlement by supporting appropriate steps being made within the framework of the United Nations and the Organisation of American States.

The Soviet Union's efforts in this respect are being made precisely in the wake of the appeal of the Rio-de-Janeiro group. Soviet diplomacy is making most energetic steps in this respect not only through the agency of the United Nations and other international organisations but also on a bilateral basis. The Soviet Union is still convinced that this knot can be undone only peacefully and politically.

Elections in India

LD2811184189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1504 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, 28 Nov (TASS)—Commenting on the results of the parliamentary elections in India at today's briefing, Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry information directorate, noted that none of the opposing sides have managed to win a majority in the lower chamber of parliament, necessary to form a one-party government. Naturally, he pointed out, the outcome of the elections was predetermined by the will of the Indian voters, and elections "are always exclusively the internal affair of the people itself."

It is important, Gremitskikh pointed out, that the main political parties went to the elections with traditional agreement on questions of foreign policy and this is reflected in their pre-election manifestos. We note with satisfaction the consensus, which is typical of the political life of India, in favor of the further development of multilateral friendly relations with the USSR, the Soviet diplomat noted. The USSR is also ready to develop further and advance relations with India.

Shelling of Kabul

LD2811192389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1501 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, 28 Nov (TASS)—The Afghan Armed Forces are continuing operations to stave off the shelling of Kabul by detachments of the armed opposition, Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Directorate, stated at a briefing today.

The Soviet diplomat cited yesterday's operation by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan against the group of rebels belonging to the Islamic Party of Afghanistan which is operating in the environs of the capital as an example of successful counteraction to the shelling of Kabul. In the course of the operation, Yuriy Gremitskikh reported, three heights were taken and 33 surface-to-surface class missiles and 219 other types of missiles were seized from the Afghan opposition.

The Soviet diplomat noted that missiles have long been purchased from the rebels; on Monday alone, 60 missiles were brought from an armed opposition group at Pagman in Kabul Province.

At the same time, Yuriy Gremitskikh said, the logic of events urges field commanders to renounce senseless armed struggle with their fellow countrymen.

Gorbachev Italy Itinerary

LD2811205189 Moscow TASS in English 1938 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh announced the programme of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's official visit to Italy, beginning on Wednesday.

He said Gorbachev will have meetings with President Francesco Cossiga and Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti. In addition, Soviet and Italian delegations will hold talks.

The Italian Government will give an official dinner, at which the sides will exchange speeches. Gorbachev will also meet representatives of Italian business and financial circles and Italian communist leader Achille Occhetto.

The Soviet president and his entourage will visit Milan, where Gorbachev will hold a news conference.

Gremitskikh said Gorbachev will meet Pope John Paul II in the Vatican.

Commenting on the recent parliamentary elections in India, Gremitskikh said that the outcome of the elections "was, naturally, determined by the will of Indian electors" and that elections "are always an exclusively internal affair of a nation."

He said "It is important that major political parties ran in the elections, being in the traditional agreement on foreign policy issues."

"The Soviet Union is ready to continue developing relations with India," the spokesman added.

On the release of two Soviet prisoners of war who were handed over in Peshawar to the Soviet Embassy in Pakistan, Gremitskikh said "All Soviet people were gratified to learn the news."

He expressed profound gratitude to all parties that contributed to the release of the Soviet POWs and voiced hope that more Soviet prisoners of war, held captive by Afghan rebels, will be released.

Commenting on the situation in several socialist countries, including Czechoslovakia, Gremitskikh said the developments there were fast.

In this connection, he mentioned Gorbachev's congratulatory message to the new general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee.

The message, the spokesman said, "wished success in restructuring and society's renovation to Czechoslovak communists allied with all those who hold dear the ideals of socialism and democracy."

On the situation in Central America, he said that "irrespective of the circumstances that prompted the El Salvador Government to virtually sever diplomatic relations with Nicaragua, this step causes regret as it goes beyond the framework of bilateral relations, thereby creating one more obstacle to the continuation of the negotiating process in Central America.

"The step has aggravated the situation in the region still further."

The spokesman said that the Soviet Union's efforts in this respect were being made in the wake of the Rio de Janeiro group's appeal.

"Soviet diplomats are taking the most energetic steps to promote a peaceful political settlement in the region—and not only through the agency of the United Nations and other international organisations but also on a bilateral basis."

Gremitskikh reported the arrival in Moscow of Israeli Agriculture Minister Avraham Katz-'Oz, who was invited by Soviet agricultural firms and the scientific community, specifically by the Academy of Sciences.

The spokesman emphasised that the goal of the visit is "the discussion of issues concerning agriculture" and that "no official meetings or contacts beyond these frameworks have been planned."

So, he added, this visit "is not an official visit by an Israeli minister to the Soviet Union."

Reporters were also addressed by members of the Soviet delegation that participated in the 25th session of the UNESCO General Conference, held from October 17 to November 16 in Paris.

Delegation head Roza Otunbayeva, who is member of the Foreign Ministry Collegium and chairman of the Soviet UNESCO Commission, described the session's results as positive.

'Roundtable' Discusses Dec 2-3 Malta Meeting

LD2611223689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 26 Nov 89

["International Observers at the Roundtable" program, with Moderator Boris Andrianov; Nikolay Agayants, All-Union Radio foreign policy commentator; and Gennadiy Vedenyapin, All-Union Radio foreign policy commentator]

[Excerpts] [Andrianov] There cannot be many events in the postwar history of international relations which can claim to have held the attention of the whole world before they actually happened. However, at the moment there is every reason to add to them one more upcoming event—the Soviet-U.S. meeting off Malta scheduled for 2-3 December. Although it is being described as informal, it has become the main, leading topic on the pages of the international press. It dominates the statements of politicians, statesmen, and public figures of

many countries, and is the topic of discussion in the widest international public circles.

[Vedenyapin] Incidentally, the authors of many foreign commentaries are expressing their opinions on what has induced Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and George Bush to agree to meet precisely at this time, on the aforementioned dates.

[Agayants] I would like to note that the U.S. President, when adopting the decision to meet the Soviet leader, had to adjust his own, present schedule. This is worthy of note.

[Andrianov] He probably had weighty reasons. After all, the current year is described as one of the most turbulent years of the postwar period. It is true that events in various parts of the world have developed very swiftly, and frequently unexpectedly. That in turn made it necessary to adopt responsible decisions which, of course, were not easy. At the same time, these kind of events made it necessary for the leaders of leading countries to take account of each other's interests. This is why the contact maintained at the political level by the Soviet Union and the United States has assumed particular importance.

[Agayants] You are right. This year the heads of the two countries' foreign policy departments engaged in active talks and the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States exchanged messages. However, despite all this, Boris Vasilyevich, exchanges of messages are no substitute for a personal encounter. It provides an opportunity to thoroughly discuss, in an informal and frank atmosphere, the whole range of problems that are cropping up.

In this context, I would like to draw attention to the following circumstance: Preconditions are currently being created to ensure that the official meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and George Bush in Washington next spring produce major accords capable of influencing the course of world events for decades to come.

[Andrianov] Nikolay Ivanovich, you are referring to grounds for hope that agreements on three key disarmament problems may be signed next year—on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive arms, conventional armed forces cuts, and banning chemical weapons.

[Agayants] Yes, I am referring to these goals. However, attaining them could be facilitated to a considerable degree by a general atmosphere of stability and normal evolution, which should not add weight to old approaches from a position of confrontation.

[Andrianov] Unquestionably, what is needed is a well-weighed, responsible line in the policy of all countries, in particular the United States and the Soviet Union, and also specific impulses, which are necessary to disentangle the remaining knots at the negotiations. Thus Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and George Bush have plenty of topics for discussion, both general and more specific topics. I believe that this is precisely what has prompted them to decide to meet in the Mediterranean. Although it is being described as an informal meeting, I believe it would be more appropriate to view it as an intermediate Soviet-U.S. summit. Incidentally, the point is not the title but the actual significance of an event.

[Vedenyapin] Abroad there is universal recognition of the tremendous potential—both political and emotional—inherent in meetings between Soviet and U.S. leaders. In the United States, for instance, it is believed that such meetings can affect the share index on stock exchanges. However, this is not crucial. Judging by other criteria - global criteria—Soviet-U.S. summits are capable of exerting and do exert a tremendous influence on the development of international relations on a global scale. They are capable of actively influencing the shaping of world public opinion. This is what has to be taken into account above all.

[Andrianov] What you are saying, Gennadiy Aleksandrovich, is borne out by the fact that President Bush has had several telephone conversations about the meeting off Malta with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Great Britain, President Francois Mitterrand of France, FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl, and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada.

[Vedenyapin] This topic was also discussed during the talks held this week by the head of the White House in Washington with FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and with Margaret Thatcher.

[Andrianov] All these contacts of the U.S. President are very indicative. After all, the idea to hold an informal summit, as mentioned earlier, belongs, according to the Western press, to the U.S. side. Explaining the motives for this step taken by Washington, the U.S. press writes that George Bush is under strong pressure from public and political circles, both in Western Europe and the United States itself, who believe that the U.S. President is displaying indecision, and that he is wasting a unique opportunity to improve East-West relations. I believe that this is a serious encouraging element which cannot be ignored under any circumstances. [passage omitted, Vedenyapin, comparing a recent THE WASHINGTON POST and ABC opinion poll with a 1983 poll to illustrate that U.S. public opinion of the USSR is becoming more positive]

[Andrianov] Unquestionably, the mood of the U.S. public is changing and becoming more positive. Yet such changes do not come about automatically. They have their causes. These causes cannot but be perceived in the truly tectonic shifts in Eastern Europe, which are connected, above all, with the progressive development of perestroyka in our country and similar processes in other socialist states.

[Agayants] These changes, unprecedented both in their scope and depth, bear out specifically and convincingly that the socialist countries have very serious intentions

to renew their socio-political structures, and thus contribute to the real overcoming of the postwar division of Europe, and to facilitate the mutual adaptation to each other of the two parts of this continent.

[Andrianov] It is being noted in the West that these processes, which are unusual as to their form, are speeding up development. The West, judging by appearances, is simply unable to react quickly enough. Why? Because these rapid changes are causing concern among many Western leaders. Some of them do not even hide their misgivings in this context, regarding these processes as somekind of a (?trap) for the West. However, fears of this kind only serve to illustrate, in my opinion, that the West was not ready for the rapid pace of change set by socialist perestroyka.

[Vedenyapin] Most probably this is absolutely correct. In these conditions the United States has deemed it impossible to remain on the sidelines during the stormy process of changes in the world. It seems likely that people in Washington, having studied the situation, have drawn their conclusions in respect of the restructuring in our country. It appears that they have concluded that it is a profound and irreversible process which makes it possible to create a more secure and stable situation, not just in Europe, but throughout the world. Ultimately, this accords with U.S. interests.

[Agayants] I would like to cite a remark by NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner. In an interview with the Spanish newspaper EL PAIS, he said that Europe is pinning great hopes on the upcoming meeting off the shores of Malta. The meeting, in his opinion, will make it possible to advance along the road of improving East-West relations, and will contribute to a better understanding between the two countries' leaders and to an informal but deep dialogue on the problems of the international situation. During priliminary consultations, Woerner notes, representatives of all NATO member-countries have expressed firm support for the idea of holding a meeting off the shores of Malta.

[Andrianov] According to George Bush, his meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev will be of historic significance, since never before has there been a more favorable opportunity to strengthen peace and reduce tension. In his address to the nation last Wednesday, he addressed an appeal to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Let us go beyond the framework of containment and put an end to cold war once and for all, he said. Referring to his upcoming meeting, the U.S. President stressed: We are meeting not in order to determine the future of Europe. Ultimately, the peoples of Europe will decide their future themselves.

[Vedenyapin] I agree. At the moment we are all witnessing historic, and, I would say, logical changes in socialist countries which are connected with democratization, the renewal of socialism and with the realization of peoples' right to a free choice. Linked with these changes are great hopes for an improvement, not only of the domestic situation, but also the international atmosphere on the continent of Europe.

[Andrianov] At the moment, many people are asking themselves: What will the Europe of the future be like?

[Agayants] This will obviously depend to what extent the governments directly involved in the current events manage to exercise statesmanlike wisdom in shaping the features of a new Europe, to what extent they will be able to keep a balance between caution on the one hand, and boldness on the other hand.

[Vedenyapin] Of course, all this will also depend to a considerable extent on our understanding of the fact that we are all living in a mutually interdependent world. After all, at first glance it seems incredible that the U.S. Administration is now applauding our perestroyka, and what is more, is expressing an interest in its success, as I said earlier. After all, until recently we would have viewed such a reaction with unconcealed mistrust, whereas now we regard it as entirely normal because we understand that the United States sees a direct dependence between the success of our perestroyka and the improvement of Soviet-U.S. relations. This is a specific example of the understanding of the interdependence of our world.

[Andrianov] When speaking about the problems of our continent, it is simply necessary for everyone to understand that the relations between its two parts must be built on principles of mutual respect, recognition of equal rights, and of every country's right to its historic choice. At the same time, account must be taken of the realities which have taken shape after World War II, and on which the security and stabilty of Europe is based. This is the existence of two German states, of two military-political alliances, and of the borders guaranteed by a number of international legal documents. No one has a right, unilaterally, to try and change these realities. Any change can only take place by universal agreement within the framework of the Helsinki process.

[Agayants] You know, Boris Vasilyevich, it is gratifying to realize that most Western politicians and public figures at present agree with this formulation of the question. for instance, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Great Britain, in an interview with the newspaper THE TIMES last week, expressed herself precisely in this spirit. In principle she rejected the irresponsible views which marked the recent debate on the reunification of the two Germanies. It is obvious that this question cannot be resolved in the present situation in Europe. Nor can it be resolved by the perestroyka processes currently underway in the GDR. The problem as such is so complex and multifaceted that its solution is clearly to be sought only on the basis of building a common European home.

[Andrianov] You know, the implementation of this idea—this is now recognized by virtually everyone—is being largely facilitated by the changes which are currently underway in the countries of Eastern Europe.

Aware of this, all realistically thinking politicians in the West sincerely welcome these changes, stressing at the same time that they are by no means hoping that the perestroyka processes in our country and in the other socialist countries will produce results which are different from those that we are seeking. [passage omitted contrasting George Kennan and Geoffrey Howe's view of the common European home, noting Thatcher's call not to slacken vigilance in the present situation, and assessing the Paris EC summit positively on the whole; passage devoted entirely to Canadian Premier Mulroney's visit to the Soviet Union, quoting extensively from Shevardnadze's interview to IZVESTIYA on the subject, listing accords signed, stressing geographical similarity and proximity of the two countries, and their common aims]

Limits to Western 'Help' for Perestroyka Viewed

PM2711152789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Nov 89 First Edition p 7

[Konstantin Sorokin "Viewpoint": "Better to Remove Restrictions"]

[Text] For a long time now perestroyka has been acknowledged abroad as the most important factor in international politics. Even a few months ago, however, officials in the West would often try to avoid expressing a clear-cut attitude toward it. A cautious "wait and see" approach prevailed. The ice was broken this fall when a whole series of high-ranking U.S. politicians recognized that perestroyka meets America's interests as well.

Since we are living in an interdependent world, the attitude of other states to the cardinal changes in our country is bound to affect the pace of their implementation. So the political support for perestroyka from an ever-increasing number of members of the world community can only be welcomed.

We clearly have grounds for expecting concrete actions from the West, actions which have long been urgent and are dictated by the present-day political situation and common sense. In particular, the lifting of the discriminatory restrictions introduced at various times on trade and economic relations with the USSR. But probably we should not expect the normalization of the legal conditions of those relations to lead automatically to an "explosive" growth of foreign economic ties or expect that in turn to resolve our domestic problems. It is senseless to hope for other people to begin removing for us the obstacles that have accumulated over decades.

Furthermore, really broad foreign economic ties with a content worthy of our country are more feasible as a consequence than as a cause of internal improvements. After all, firm and reliable contacts cannot be beneficial to us alone. But at the moment the list of Soviet goods and services quoted on the international market is small. Although, of course, even that potential cannot be ignored. The situation can be viewed from a different angle, too. If we join the "outside world" we will inevitably face tough competition. Not only from the long-established economies. Western specialists believe that there is an equally serious challenge from the "new industrial states"—Brazil, South Korea, and others—which have a great potential for expansion and the flexible "redirection" of economic structures. It is clear that to break through into the markets already captured by others and survive a difficult competitive struggle—no one is going to offer us preferential terms—we need our own base which must be firm both quantitatively and qualitatively.

We can create that base mainly from our internal resources and our own efforts, furthermore. Even though in the West they are talking about a new "Marshall Plan," the most that we can count on is political amicability and treatment as an equal partner. What we cannot expect is the economic altruism of the other side—they learned the value of money a long time ago there. In addition, economic problems are "their" speciality, too. In the West, furthermore, there is a widespread opinion that perestroyka lacks a consistent, long-term program. If that is so, the development of economic relations with the USSR must be approached with the utmost caution.

That, clearly, is also the viewpoint of the U.S. administration. When explaining the U.S. understanding of "help for perestroyka," for example, Secretary of State Baker recently spoke about cooperation with the Russians in creating a stable world situation, settling regional conflicts, and limiting arms. The economic sphere was left in the background and reduced to "helping" our country where possible by technical and economic advice.

Undoubtedly, there are snags on our side, too. Cooperation ringed with unacceptable conditions is hardly conceivable: The creation in the country as a whole of a market economy with its inherently random nature, the repudiation of the party's leading role, and so on. Clearly there must not be an excessive orientation toward Western experience in the technological sphere, either. Apart from anything else, that would condemn us to a long period of lagging behind scientific and technical progress, because he who follows in someone else's footsteps is always behind.

Of course, the opportunities for foreign economic cooperation offered by the "breakthrough" in foreign policy and which are realistic in view of the present state of our national economy must be used "to the maximum." But something else is clear, too. The "foreign economic factor of perestroyka" will not be able to fully establish itself until the accelerated process of reforms yields results with the country.

Zagladin on Public's Role in Building European Home

LD0311205389 Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 3 Nov 89

[Text] The Bureau of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation has met in Moscow.

Vadim Zagladin, an adviser to President Mikhail Gorbachev, has been elected chairman of this important public organization. A Radio Moscow reporter asked Professor Zagladin how he reacted to being elected to the new post and what in his opinion is the role of the public in building a European home. This is what he said.

[Zagladin in Russian fading into English translation] I regard my election as a great honour and an expression of trust in me. But perhaps the prevailing feeling is that of responsibility, because efforts concerning European affairs are very important for this country. They are important for Europe and for peace. On the other hand, this public organization is a very active one, and it's necessary to think and work hard to see that its activity continues and brings good results.

As for the role of the public, I believe it to be very important. Actually, the idea of convening the All-European Conference in Helsinki in 1975 developed in two directions. At first, there was the initiative of the Bucharest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries in 1966. At the same time the idea was advanced by the Soviet public and supported by the world community. So it can be said that the preparations for the Helsinki Conference were done to a great extent by the public. And this interconnecton between people's diplomacy and the State has continued and it's uninterrupted.

It seems that the role of the public today could be even greater because of different circumstances. Lately it has been in Europe that people's diplomacy assumed special major proportions. There appeared very many new partners with which the Soviet Union had no contacts at all several years ago. Today there are many partners and they are different, and together we can shape public opinion in favour of building a European home.

Then there's been the Vienna meeting of representatives of the countries which took place in the All-European Conference. And in 1992 there will be the next meeting of the participants of the European process. The Soviet Union has suggested holding it at top level.

It's quite clear that not only stock should be taken of what has been achieved but new proposals advanced, and in that respect the public could show the initiative in further promoting the European process.

United States & Canada

Previews, Expectations of Upcoming Malta Meeting

Shevardnadze Previews Meeting

AU2811152189 Rome ANSA in English 1232 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] (ANSA) Rome, November 28—"I would not rule out the possibility that agreements will be reached off Malta on basic choices capable of enriching Soviet-American relations with new political content and new elaborations and giving vigorous impetus to their progressive development.

"This also goes for offensive, strategic arms," Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze told the Italian Communist daily "UNITA" Tuesday, on the eve of an official visit to [word indistinct] by Mikhail Gorbachev and the U.S.-Soviet summit off Malta this weekend.

The Soviet diplomatic chief went on to say that proposals now lay on the negotiations table which could well smooth away the essential blocs to a future agreement.

In the Soviet view, he said, if a political decision is forthcoming, a START accord could be achieved in a relatively short time, despite the complexities of outstanding problems. "The year 1990 could well become a turning point for disarmament," Shevardnadze said.

Asked about the prospects for a gradual elimination of the two military blocs, Shevardnadze said that this is just what the Warsaw Pact states are working at.

Thanks to efforts being made by both the states of the East and West, Europe and the world in general are, for the first time since the end of the Second World War faced with the real possibility of a gradual dismantlement of that model of security which took shape during the cold war years and which was essentially based on a balancing of military might, he went on.

Nevertheless, the road which would lead to the dissolution of the two alliances passes through a greater mutual understanding, the development of cooperation in a wide range of endeavors, first and foremost that of disarmament, and the building of a common European home, he said.

Turning to the situation in the Mideast, Shevardnadze said Soviet policy called for greater cooperation with all countries, including the United States, Western Europe, and naturally Italy, to create an atmosphere in the Middle East capable of inducing the sides directly involved in the conflict to seriously work for a solution to it. He brought up the fact that the Middle East was the cradle of the three monotheistic religions. Their undoubted power of pacification would be put to use to create the consensus needed to search for a solution to the Mideast crisis, he continued.

The interview then touched upon the coming encounter in Vatican City (Friday) between the Kremlin leader and the head of the Roman Catholic Church.

Shevardnadze noted that in recent times contacts between Moscow and the Vatican have become significantly more active. A fruitful cooperation continues in international forums in the more general framework of Europe, he said. The discussion turns on to a number of themes, which include the chief international problems of the day, as well as those more strictly confined to the religious needs of Soviet Catholics, the foreign minister continued.

The democratic process underway in the Soviet Union has also affected the religious sphere and further progress in this area has been entrusted to the imminent approval of a law covering religious organizations and which will safeguard freedom of conscience, he said. "In sum, we stand ready to pursue our dialogue with the Vatican," Shevardnadze told the UNITA interviewer.

As to the indebtedness that suffocates many countries in Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America, the Soviet foreign minister believed that this burden could be eased only if the North removes all of the obstacles it poses to the development of exports in the states of the South. The North must make its technology available to the South and provide technical training, he said. "I think that today we and the USA can together face these matters in a concrete, practical way," he added.

However, he stressed that this is not the time merely to study these problems, but also to find solutions and he said that the Soviet Union stands ready to work in this direction.

Relaxed relations between the two superpowers will enable the two countries to realistically deal with the possibility of eventually eliminating foreign military bases, especially the foreign military presence in the developing countries, the Soviet official went on.

Concluding the interview, Shevardnadze brought up in this context the idea of conveying military installations to installations set up for civilian purposes, without reducing the volume of aid given to the states where military bases now exist.

Shishlin Views Meeting

LD2811184589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Nov 89

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Nikolay Shishlin]

[Text] The upcoming minisummit—as it is sometimes called—between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and U.S. President Bush off the shores of Malta is currently attracting special interest everywhere. This meeting will take place without a fixed, that is to say without a rigidly fixed, agenda. Frankly speaking, this is hardly necessary. Generally speaking, the agenda of Soviet-U.S. relations

took shape long ago. It comprises arms control; that is, arms reduction problems; efforts to identify political means for settling regional conflicts and ensure observance of human rights; and issues relating to the east and the west of Europe, especially in Eastern Europe. One thing can be said with absolute certainty. Neither Bush nor Gorbachev will try to resolve the Europeans' problems for them. That is a task for all the European states, although the role of the Soviet Union and the United States in this sphere should not be underestimated.

In one way or another, this meeting off the shores of Malta promises to be a unique meeting in a certain sense. I do not intend to forecast its outcome. However, I must note that during the runup to the meeting, if you take a look at what is happening, the Soviet Union is rolling back its military budget. Our defense industry, part of our defense industry is being converted to civilian production. And what about the United States? The United States is also beginning to stir. In any case, work is beginning in the United States now on how the the U.S. military budget could be cut by $180 billion over the next 5 years. This is a huge sum of money. It is not a question of practical work as yet, it is more a question of planning, drawing-board work, of working out various schemes. Nonetheless, it is a sign. Or take, for instance, President Bush's speech during the past week on Thanksgiving Day. It was a speech marked by constructive spirit. Bush expressed solidarity with the Soviet perestroyka, he wished success to the Soviet efforts in the perestroyka of our society and the perestroyka of our strategy, and he made positive noises about Soviet foreign policy. This, too, is a good sign in my opinion.

I do not believe that it would be right to say that everything bad in Soviet-U.S. relations is a matter of the past; this would not be justified. It would not correspsond to reality. There are differences and there are disagreements. However, a new quality is emerging, a new quality is gradually emerging in Soviet-U.S. relations. And it seems to me that precisely the meeting in Malta may create the conditions for a breakthrough to this new quality in Soviet-U.S. relations. We are moving away from confrontation and toward cooperation and collaboration, at least in some key areas of international politics. The next few days will show how correct these forecasts are.

Shislin on Meeting's Prospects

AU2811144689 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 48, 27 Nov 89 p 7

[Interview with Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin, political observer and advisor in the CPSU Central Committee, by Borislav Dzhamdzhiev, Moscow correspondent of Bulgarian Radio: "Step Toward Interaction"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Dzhamdzhiev] Nikolay Vladimirovich, usually, before an event like the Soviet-American summit off the shores of Malta, the question is asked: What are you expecting? However, there are now good reasons to formulate the question differently. On 31 October, when announcing that agreement on the meeting had been reached, Eduard Shevardnadze said that, although it is an intermediate meeting, it is not ruled out that it may result in "a lot of work for the foreign ministers and experts." Some 2 weeks later he stated that he does not even exclude "the reaching of an agreement." In your opinion, what is excluded from happening during the talks?

[Shishlin] I would flatly rule out any possibility of the Soviet Union and the United States reaching agreement about the future of Europe. There will certainly be an exchange of views in connection with the profound changes that are taking place in both the eastern and western parts of the continent. However, it will be exactly that—an exchange of views, an assessment of the prospects, an analysis from different angles. In no event will there be any Soviet-U.S. agreements concerning Europe. Europe belongs to all the European countries without exception, and its future will be determined by the Europeans themselves. It is this that I would rule out as a possible result. In other respects, experience shows that anything is possible.

[Dhzamdzhiev] You recently visited the United States. Is there a real change in attitude over there toward the Soviet Union? What is the correlation of forces between the image of the enemy and the necessary trust on the eve of the new "summit"?

[Shishlin] I think that one can now definitely talk about a stable trend for the attitude toward the Soviet Union to change in the positive sense—both on the part of political and business circles and in the notions of the public at large.

Whereas formerly we could talk with the United States only about lessening certain negative elements, and there were more than enough of these in our relations, today, under the new conditions, we are already talking about practical steps toward cooperation and interaction. Or one might say this: We were competitors, if not enemies, to use a stronger word. We are now competing partners, with the awareness that it is better to be partners.

[Dzhamdzhiev] A strong feeling of advance enthusiasm has developed around the meeting. Is this justified, in your view?

[Shishlin] Despite all the provisos, yes, it certainly is! Although, in my view, one should expect no sensational results from this meeting. The radical change in Soviet-U.S. relations is already an accomplished fact. I see the task of the meeting as lying rather in not losing anything of what has been achieved so far, and in defining the routes that are dictated by the new situation, routes that concern the further development of Sofia-American relations in all fields, starting from the problem of halting the arms race, and extending to "transnational" problems, as it has now become accepted to call them.

Progress on Arms To Be Promoted

PM2711161789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Nov 89 First Edition p 3

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer Manki Ponomarev article under the "World Today: Problems and Opinions" rubric: "On the Eve"]

[Text] The closer the meeting between the USSR and U.S. leaders scheduled for 2-3 December off the island of Malta comes, the more space the coming event occupies in the world press and television and radio programs. That is quite natural.

It seems that everyone is now aware that a drastic turnaround is taking place in world development away from confrontation, fueling of the military threat, and ideological intolerance toward the quest for consensus, mutual understanding, and cooperation. Moreover, this turnaround is based on a realization of the untenability of the "cold war" and the policy of banking on force and a recognition of the primacy of common human values and every people's right to choose for themselves their political system, allies, and friends—in short, their place in our rapidly changing world.

It also seems obvious now that direct contacts between the leaders of states and governments—which has been described as personal diplomacy—have assumed particular significance in the situation of extremely dynamic changes. The shaping of an atmosphere of trust between countries and peoples and the possibility of genuine breakthroughs to a new level of mutual understanding depend to a very large extent on such contacts through meetings, talks, and discussions.

That is why the coming meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and G. Bush is attracting such close attention. No world events—even the most dramatic—can damp down the interest in what is said onboard the Soviet cruiser "Slava" and the U.S. cruiser "Belknap." On the contrary these events, particularly in East Europe, are intensifying interest in the meeting off Malta and have given rise to an avalanche of proposals, forecasts, and simply idle conjecture on this subject.

The participants in the meeting themselves were extremely laconic until recently. However, it is easy to imagine that the whole spectrum of problems which determine Soviet-U.S. relations will be subjected to consideration. This will involve questions of bilateral relations between the two countries, notably trade and economic relations, various aspects of perestroyka in the Soviet Union, measures to strengthen security and reduce the risk of war, the situation in Europe, regional conflicts, and global problems. Moreover, G. Bush has himself stated Washington's desire to go beyond the bounds of the policy of deterrence, put an end to the "cold war," and establish relations for a "new partnership" with the USSR. He has refuted the claim mooted in the Western press that the two "superpowers" are preparing to recarve the geographic map anew. "We are not holding this meeting," he said, "to determine the future of Europe—because ultimately the peoples of Europe themselves will determine their own future." This meeting, the President told the country, will give us an opportunity for analysis and assessment. These are all the more necessary since, to use his own words, "we are living in a striking time. Never before has there been such a favorable opportunity for strengthening peace and reducing tension." One cannot fail to agree with this idea.

The Soviet side is also pinning many hopes on the impending meeting. It will take place without a fixed agenda; there are no plans to sign any agreements there. But it will be of extraordinary significance not only for the development of USSR-U.S. relations but also for the world as a whole. Especially since the possibility of an accord on major problems is by no means precluded. It is extremely likely that the two leaders will make important political statements and draw major conceptual conclusions. This is suggested by recent past experience: Discussions at this level generally lead to major breakthroughs in world policy.

In short, in the opinion of the Soviet side, the Mediterranean meeting will in many respects determine the scale of possible decisions on all elements of the Soviet-U.S. agenda. But this agenda, as THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote recently with a certain amount of surprise, "has been mapped out by the Soviet bloc, while the West only had to respond to it."

Speeches by Soviet statesmen and press organs may have given a rather more restrained assessment of the forthcoming meeting than the West. But this is perhaps more a matter of style than essence. Both sides are unanimous that their common aim is to create more stable, constructive, and durable relations—the kind of relations where openness and collaboration increasingly supplant mistrust and rivalry.

Quite understandably, two topics of the coming talks arouse particular interest. The first is the situation in Europe in the light of the processes currently taking place in the GDR and certain other Warsaw Pact states. People in the Soviet Union regard the profound changes in these countries with benevolence and interest. They bring the peoples closer to one another, promote accord, and establish a situation of balance of interests and free choice in international relations. This is the way to a long-lasting period of peace.

It would be appropriate here to note that all manner of speculation has circulated in the West regarding who won the "cold war" and who is winning the competition for people's minds. I must be blunt and say that this speculation arose from the excessive arrogance of certain Western circles and their mouthpieces. For some reason they believe that only the socialist world must change and are trying to drag out the idea "of "exporting

capitalism" to replace the slander about the "export of revolution." It will not work, gentlemen. History is setting everything to rights.

Let us look at that same GDR. Events in that country fit into the framework of the renewal process which has been developing in all the socialist countries. That is why we welcome what is happening in the GDR. There is no doubt that the Soviet leader will speak from these positions at the meeting.

Nor is the United States interested in overdramatizing the situation. The press cited G. Bush's statement that the United States wants a calm and peaceful period of change in East Europe. One U.S. official expressed this as follows: "Neither side wants to rock the boat. I do not believe that a concrete agreement will be reached on this score, but it is our impression that it is this situation which is taking shape with regard to the Soviet Union." You get the impression that Washington today is impressed by the peaceful development of the processes of renewal in the GDR and other socialist countries. People there realize that the preservation of stability in Europe accords with the interests of both the peoples of this region themselves and the United States, and indeed the whole world.

The U.S. leadership is meeting with support and understanding here from its allies. On the eve of the Mediterranean meeting, U.S. Administration leaders have had a number of consultations with them. FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher has visited Washington, Bush has had telephone talks with French President Mitterrand and Canadian Prime Minister Mulroney, and Thatcher is visiting Washington right now.

The second—or perhaps it should also have been described as the first—problem which is attracting particular attention is the problem of further strengthening international security. Voicing the aspirations of broad circles of the public, Britain's THE GUARDIAN wrote the following: "The meeting between Bush and Gorbachev aboard the warships off Malta is expected to give an important political boost to the talks on the reduction of both conventional and nuclear arms." Such opinions are being voiced increasingly frequently.

The fact that after a long period of mistrust and skepticism the United States and NATO have acknowledged that the Soviet Union is indeed cutting back its armed forces and military spending is of considerable significance. Thus, NATO Secretary General M. Woerner said that this fact "is in no doubt" and that "impressive progress" has been made in the arms control sphere. "The world is changing rapidly," he said recently, "and it is quite clear that the North Atlantic Alliance cannot continue to act as it has acted hitherto." There are grounds for concluding that these are not just words. For instance, Japan's MAINICHI SHIMBUN attests: "In response to the substantial political changes taking place in the USSR and other socialist countries the North Atlantic Alliance has embarked on a radical review of the 'flexible response strategy' which is fundamental to Western security."

The press has already announced that the United States is also drawing definite conclusions for its military policy. It refers to plans to cut back U.S. military spending quite considerably over the next 5 years, which should entail the restructuring of the armed forces, a reduction in numerical strength, and the abandonment of a number of substantial military programs.

At present these are only proposals, although Defense Secretary R. Cheney has spoken about them in a quite detailed manner over the last few days. There has as yet been no Presidential decision. But London has said that the U.S. intention does not reflect the West's "universal desire." People there consider it necessary to keep military spending at the former level. Incidentally, this week G. Bush signed a bill adopted by the Congress on appropriations for military purposes for Fiscal 1990. They have effectively undergone no radical changes in comparison with previous years.

Nevertheless the relaxation of tension in the world is becoming increasingly palpable. This is indeed an inspiring and important phenomenon, T. Foley, speaker of the House of Representatives, said, speaking about the impending meeting off Malta. But G. Mitchell, leader of the Democratic minority [as published] in the U.S. Senate, stressed that the meeting "could confirm the two countries' desire to make progress in the arms control sphere."

These are the sentiments in the world on the eve of the USSR and U.S. leaders' meeting. There is only a week to go, and then we will know precisely which forecasts were justified and which proved groundless. I will venture to voice the conviction that, above all, proposals based on old, backward dogmas will not be confirmed, while those based on the postulates of the new political thinking will be confirmed.

Trade Relations on Agenda

LD2811230789 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] The issue of reviving normal trade relations will be among those discussed at the forthcoming Soviet-American Mediterranean summit. Trade relations among the two countries have been strained for 15 years with high tariffs imposd on Soviet imports. The legislation passed by the U.S.Congress in 1974, known as the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, says the socialist countries will not receive favorable tariff treatment unless they permit free emigration of their citizens. But with the ongoing reforms in Eastern Europe the issue is now on the agenda, although U.S.officials warn against expecting much in the way of expanded trade at least in the near future.

Bush Preparations Noted

LD2711122189 Moscow TASS in English 0910 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Washington November 27 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin:

U.S. President George Bush today begins the last intensive round of consultations with leading governmental and non-governmental experts in preparation for the U.S.-USSR summit scheduled in five days time.

From Monday through Thursday Bush will have briefings and meetings with senior officials of his administration and specialists on American-Soviet relations. He will meet Defense Secretary Richard Cheney today and consult with Secretary of State James Baker on Wednesday.

Last week, President Bush consulted with leading U.S. NATO allies, met British Premier Margaret Thatcher and West German Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher, conversed by telephone with French President Francois Mitterrand, Canadian Premier Martin Brian Mulroney and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

High-placed White House representatives repeatedly note that one should not expect specific major arms control accords from the summit. But the U.S.mass media note that it might usher in a new era in USSR-U.S. relations.

"Forty-four years after Europe was carved in two, a shipboard summit will begin trying to close one of history's saddest chapters—and to replace a bitter ideological rivalry with a new partnership based on common interests, not confrontation," the U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT says in its latest issue.

"When George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev meet off Malta next weekend for the first post-cold-war summit, they will be inventing new rules of U.S.-Soviet diplomacy as they go along. The demise of the cold war has shattered the familiar guidelines that for almost 45 years have defined superpower conduct as a zero-sum game: when I win, you lose. They are slowly being displaced by a growing realisation that the U.S. and the Soviet Union, the cradles of rival revolutions, now share an interest in maintaining stability in a rapidly changing world that, increasingly, answers neither to Moscow nor to Washington," the weekly said.

Fitzwater News Conference

LD2811121889 Moscow TASS in English 1159 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Washington November 28 TASS—By TASS correspondent Oleg Polyakovskiy:

The United States Administration is preparing for an important dialogue with President Gorbachev in Malta, White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater said at a White House briefing on Monday.

President George Bush had previously discussed East European events with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti, French President Francois Mitterrand, Wester German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, Danish Prime Minister Poul Schluter, Belgian Prime Minister Wilfried Martens, Dutch Prime Minister Rudolph Lubbers and Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez.

President Bush invited Prime Minister Mulroney for a working dinner on Wednesday, November 29. The prime minister has just ended a seven-day visit to the Soviet Union and the President is keen to learn his impressions of the visit, the White House spokesman said.

The allied governments are considering all possible consequences of the reforms that have been launched or being demanded in Eastern Europe. A meeting with the NATO allies in Brussels, where President Bush will go straight from Malta on Sunday afternoon, December 3, will be a significant part of that process.

On Monday, President Bush continued preparations for the meeting with President Gorbachev. In the morning he talked with chairman of the Federal Reserve System Board of Governors Alan Greenspan, and in the afternoon—with government experts on regional problems.

During the weekend the President met in Camp David his national security and budget advisers to discuss military spending in the next few years. The press printed reports on possible troop cuts in Europe following changes in the Soviet troop structure.

The United States proposed—and NATO submitted the proposal at the negotiations on conventional forces in Vienna—to cut U.S. and Soviet troop strengths to 275,000. This will involve 300,000 from the Soviet side and 30,000—from the American side.

Considering the United States future requirements in funds, President Bush should consider them in the context of the continuing arms control negotiations and U.S. budget estimates.

In Malta, the two presidents will certainly speak about arms control and the structure of the armed forces. These discussions will affect decisions to be made on a change in the U.S. military concept, Fitzwater said.

Preparing for negotiations from the viewpoint of U.S. budgetary requirements, the President and his advisers are considering a broad range of military possibilities linked with a number of different levels of forces and a number of various assessments of budget cuts.

No press reports on specific budget or military possibilities will be confirmed or denied. It is important to remember that any changes in U.S. conventional forces can be held only after consultations with allies, he said.

The aim of the negotiations on conventional forces in Europe, just as the aim of the U.S. and NATO forces in Europe, is to consolidate stability and lessen the threat of war, the spokesman said.

Further cuts in Soviet troops, confronting NATO, will meet this aim. Any such development would naturally be welcomed and the utmost will be done to promote it, he said. It is only logical that further considerable Soviet troop cuts will lead to a change in the NATO military stand, but cannot replace the process of negotiations on conventional forces in Europe, which is one of the structural processes leading to official agreements, mutual obligations and efficient verification, Fitzwater said.

Bush Cited on Expectations

LD2911073689 Moscow TASS in English 0630 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Washington November 29 TASS—During an impromptu news conference on Tuesday, U.S. President George Bush was asked what he expects from the Mediterranean summit with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Bush said that he planned to discuss a wide array of issues at Malta on which he believed the relations can be improved.

He said the talks have no specific agenda. "I am willing to talk about anything. That's what the meeting is all about," he said.

But he ruled out any agreements that could be a surprise for the United States' allies. "The surprise will be, if you're looking for a surprise, there won't be a surprise," Bush said.

He emphasised particularly that no arms control agreements would be concluded at the summit, even though he would like to discuss arms reduction.

The U.S. President denied press reports that he intends to propose to reduce troop levels in Europe below the level of 275,000 men that the U.S. had earlier proposed. Bush denied he would make specific proposals.

Events in Europe To Be Discussed

LD2911092989 Moscow TASS in English 0913 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Washington November 29 TASS—The historic events taking place in Central and Eastern Europe will be one of the main subjects of President Bush's talks with Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. NATO allies, President Bush said on Tuesday, speaking in front of members of a high-ranking American delegation leaving for Poland.

The delegation, called "the Presidential mission", includes Secretary of Agriculture Clayton Yeutter, Minister of Commerce Robert Mosbacher, Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole, the President's economic adviser Michael Boskin and representatives from business and scientific circles.

The trip aims to determine ways to grant economic aid to Poland and to discuss prospects of American investments in the Polish economy.

Shortly after the briefing President Bush signed a bill earmarking 938 million dollars for economic and food aid to Poland and Hungary over the next three years.

The bill, approved by the U.S. Congress on November 17, provides for stimulating U.S. capital investments and expanding U.S. trade and economic ties with these countries.

Bush Stresses 'No Set Agenda'

LD2911124389 Moscow TASS in English 1229 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Washington November 29 TASS—There is no set agenda for the Malta summit, according to President Bush, who told reporters on Tuesday that he nevertheless was prepared to talk about a wide range of issues.

"We'll have a wide array of areas where we think we can improve relations," Bush said.

"But there is not going to be an agreement that surprises our allies," Bush said.

Later on Tuesday Bush said that historic events in Poland and elsewhere in Central and Eastern Europe will be high on the agenda in Malta and in later talks between Bush and NATO leaders. The meeting off the coast of Malta provides an excellent chance to study new ideas and find ways of improving relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. According to an address issued by a large group of American religious figures to participants in the Malta meeting. The address was signed by heads of major U.S. churches.

It calls for global nuclear disarmament by the year 2000, the quick conclusion of a treaty on fifty percent cuts in Soviet and U.S. strategic arsenals, followed by a stage-by-stage scrapping of nuclear stockpiles in other countries.

The message also called for guns-for-butter economic conversion in the 1990s.

Cheney Cited on U.S. Troop Cuts in Europe

LD2711183189 Moscow TASS in English 1235 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] The Hague November 27 TASS—"Plans for major U.S. defence spending cuts over the next five years will not change American's strong military commitment to NATO," U.S. Defence Secretary Dick Cheney said during a stop here en route to a NATO defence planning committee on Tuesday and Wednesday.

According to REUTERS, Cheney told reporters late on Sunday that Washington would not make any unilateral cuts in its forces stationed in western Europe without full consultations with other North Atlantic Treaty Organizations (NATO) members.

"I think the effort the United States makes exceeds that of any other nation in terms of contribution to our mutual security," he said.

Cheney stated that any cut above the currently proposed 30,000 U.S. troops would not be made without prior consultations with west European allies.

Cheney also dwelt on recent reports about possible cuts of up to 180 billion dollars in U.S. military spending in 1992, 1993 and 1994. He said they were somewhat premature and pointed out that president Bush has not made any decision yet on America's five year defence budget.

Today Cheney will meet the Dutch defence minister and also hold brief talks with Prime Minister Rudolf Lubbers.

Cheney Interview Cited

PM2811142789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Nov 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "U.S. Defense Secretary Interview"]

[Text] San Francisco, 27 Nov—U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney has laid out his views on the problems of U.S. defense and the division of responsibilities inside NATO in an interview in the LOS ANGELES TIMES. "There exists an irreducible minimum defense potential which the United States intends to maintain whatever happens in the USSR," the Pentagon chief stated. "We are a superpower and will always need a military potential to defend U.S. interests and maintain U.S. influence on events in the world."

In his opinion, superiority in naval forces and the modernization of strategic nuclear armaments should be the U.S. Administration's chief priorities in an age of defense budget cuts and the arms control process. Moreover, large-scale research work on the SDI Program should continue until at least 1994, after which the country's president will be able to take a decision on the expediency of deploying a "space shield."

In the light of the changing political climate in Europe the U.S. defense secretary expressed his standpoint on the need for a deeper separation of "defense functions" among NATO members. He considers that the United States should take control of the naval and air forces while their European allies should pay greater attention to "combat operations on land."

Supreme Soviet Deputies Visit Washington

LD2911105689 Moscow TASS in English 0955 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Washington November 29 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Vladimir Matyash:

The Moscow-Washington dialogue is gaining momentum, as illustrated by a group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies' visit to Washington. They are participating in a Soviet-American inter-parliamentary seminar on humanitarian cooperation and human rights.

This is the first such forum in Soviet-American relations held by the U.S. Congressional Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The Soviet deputies on Tuesday discussed many human rights and humanitarian issues with Speaker of the House Thomas Foley and Senate Democratic Majority leader George Mitchell.

International agreements and generally recognised standards in the sphere of human rights, as well as the Helsinki Final Act and other agreements of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe were cited as playing a major role.

It was noted that both sides' efforts have contributed to invigoration of the Soviet-American relations. The time has come to remove political obstacles, still existing in the United States, to the development of Soviet-American trade and economic cooperation.

"The Soviet-American inter-parliamentary dialogue is no longer marred by mutual recriminations over noncompliance with human rights. American and Soviet Legislators are now favouring actions to ensure real world security and peace and the destruction of nuclear arsenals," Soviet People's Deputy F. Burlatskiy told TASS.

The off Malta superpower summit will be a step forward in arms control, Congressman Steny Hoyer, the Commission co-chairman, said.

He noted that progress in the sphere of human rights in Soviet-American relations will ensure a more stable development of contacts between the two countries, including the parliamentary contacts.

Republican Congressman Christopher Smith favoured strong Soviet-American relations. He expressed hope that the summit meeting would give fresh impetus to arms cuts in the interests of the national security of the two nuclear power.

We applaud the changes taking place in the Soviet Union which favourably influence the political climate, Senator Denis Deconcini, chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, said.

In the U.S. Congress, he said, one is witnessing a turn towards consolidation of confidence between our two

states. We are developing trade and economic cooperation and ensuring genuine security by bringing the two countries closer together and departing from a policy of military confrontation.

Lew Lorry, a prominent American public figure and member of the Helsinki Commission, has said it is not easy to reach mutual understanding after decades of hostility and recriminations. But it is necessary to seek dialogue. It is dialogue that can help find a way to overcome cold war stereotypes and a way to new thinking, he said.

Journalists Meet, Talk With U.S. Leaders

PM2811165189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Nov 89 Second Edition p 7

["From Journalist's Notebook" report by PRAVDA special correspondent Yu. Glukhov: "View of Kremlin From Banks of Potomac"]

[Text] Washington-Moscow, Nov—Although the jogging craze is on the wane, the passion for it has not altogether cooled in Washington's veins. The jogger is a common sight on the streets of the U.S. capital. Everyone jogs—schoolchildren, students, officials, housewives, pensioners. From early morning until late at night. And it appears that even the nimble squirrels on the lawns of Capitol Hill are participants in this health campaign.

We Soviet journalists switched almost automatically to the same rhythm when we arrived in the United States at the invitation of the U.S. Society of Newspaper Editors. In fact, the pace was set by the busy schedule of official meetings drawn up by our hosts. Judge for yourselves: a visit to the Capitol, meetings with the leader of the Republican minority in Congress, the vice president, the speaker of the House of Representatives, the director of the department to combat drugs, the president's national security assistant, the U.S. secretary of state, and a number of other people. And all that in a few hours. Going from place to place about the city. Going through security barriers. Dashing through corridors and piling into elevators.

So I will rummage through the heaps of impressions and words, run through the memory tape and try to pick out the main items.

...Dan Quayle strode in. He has a vigorous handshake. The vice president is a keen sportsman. He looks much younger than his 42 years. In 1980 he was the youngest senator, representing Indiana.

Then the first questions. One of them was: "Who is your ideal president?" His instant answer: "George Bush."

He was not just being polite. His answer made me take an even closer look at the U.S. President's career and see many things in a different light.

Bush was a pilot in World War II—a detail that would embellish anyone's portrait. Moreover, it is a past with a dramatic tone. His aircraft was shot down over the Pacific. He was lucky to be picked up by a U.S. submarine. Two other crew members were killed.

Obviously, any statesman would envy Bush's obstinacy and persistence in attaining his goals, whether as businessman or politician, and his professionalism and capacity for work. During his first presidential campaign he covered 250,000 miles in 329 days and held 850 meetings and appearances.

I believe that many participants in the political struggle and, in particular, the election struggle will be interested in Bush's observations and conclusions. For example: "I found that the desire to cut a political opponent's throat was not my style. This lesson came from my business experience. When everyone tries to destroy his opponent, usually everyone loses."

But G. Bush's political experience is unique, even if one goes by his record: congressman, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, chairman of the Republican National Committee, U.S. representative in China, director of the CIA, vice president. Note that at certain stages this has involved carrying out the most delicate and crucial missions.

For instance, Bush was head of the Republican Party's National Committee when it had to shed some ballast—get rid of Nixon, who was up to his ears in "Watergate." It was he who wrote the letter to Nixon asking him to resign on the basis that the "political party and country are bigger and more important than any individual, even the President." As for the outcome of his action, since then the Republicans have managed to secure the presidency on three occasions, Bush has maintained his relationship with Nixon, and Nixon has remained a political figure. His recent trip to China demonstrated that he is still capable of "building bridges" by using old links.

Equally interesting and instructive is Bush's period with the CIA. Essentially, he succeeded in transforming Americans' negative attitude toward this institution. Moreover, Bush adopted a tough, assertive stance. "What the country's intelligence community faced in the seventies was not just a loss of public confidence in state institutions. Certain politicians and journalists lost their sense of moderation and ceased to appreciate that irrespective of the way the concept of 'national security' was used, real security interests actually do exist and in today's world they should be protected."

But the most amazing thing is that Bush managed to emerge from the whirlpool of the intelligence department and return to political activity, although, in his own words, the "CIA is a complete dead end, the end of a career."

One ought also to talk about Bush's style of conduct. He is not conventional. In China, for example, G. Bush occasionally turned up at receptions on a bicycle.

Both the assessment of the U.S. President's personality and the analysis of his activity will obviously attract increasing attention in view of the fact that he intends to contest the 1992 presidential election with the same running mate. I believe that by then Quayle will have acquired considerable experience in the "Bush school." At the moment, in my view, he is still finding his range as far as political targets are concerned, reveling in the excitement of shooting rather than bothering about accuracy.

Expounding his view, the vice president said that he adopts the same stance as the President, wishing perestroyka and glasnost success and believing that the implementation of this line will help to improve relations between the United States and the USSR. But he is against "financing" perestroyka. Other opinions of his are tough and categorical. He supports the "Strategic Defense Initiative" and considers that the policy of deterrence works. He does not accept the Afghan Government in Kabul, and so forth.

...We were all given a welcoming sniff by Alice. She is old and half-blind. She is 17 and has spent all that time in the corridors of Congress. Now this nice little dog has to rely more on smell when greeting visitors to the office. It is the office of Tom Foley, speaker of the House of Representatives. He is a Democrat, and the Democratic Party has a majority in the U.S. Congress. It is this party that sets the tone in the work of the legislative organs, while presidential power is in the hands of the Republicans. So what is the mood in Congress?

"The majority believes," our interlocutor said, "that the events taking place in the Soviet Union, that is, perestroyka and glasnost, are a very positive phenomenon. President Gorbachev's stock is very high. At the same time, there are differences of opinion on how actively involved the United States should be in the development of Soviet-American relations. A very small minority is voicing doubts. They wonder whether the transformations in the USSR will be in the interests of the United States, since the strengthening of a technologically powerful and mighty Soviet Union could be a greater threat to the West. I repeat," T. Foley said, "that this is the view of a very small minority and its significance is exaggerated in the Soviet press.

"Some people," our interlocutor continued, "are biding their time. But many are convinced that it would be a tragedy not to respond positively and miss the historic opportunity to make progress in the development of our relations. Indeed, we are observing an amazing process of change. Soviet parliamentarians are visiting the United States to exchange experience. Americans are forming a more realistic and clearer picture of the Soviet Union. They can relate it to U.S. problems. And this is reassuring."

The meeting with Brent Scowcroft, assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, was brief. The general was pushed for time, in a hurry, and therefore his description of the issues he considered paramount was only superficial. They are the issues of disarmament and ecology. It is his profound belief that global problems cannot be tackled within the framework of a single country. Cooperation in tackling them is imperative.

Scowcroft took up his post recently. Soon after the "Iran-Contras" scandal, in which National Security Council aides were involved and which he helped to investigate. He performed the same duties under President Ford.

Even a superficial acquaintance with Scowcroft's department and with a number of others shows how professionally, profoundly, and seriously the Americans are dealing with the Soviet Union. The general himself was once an assistant professor of Russian history. One of the leading aides in his office, head of the Soviet and East European affairs department, Kondoliza Rays [name as transliterated], is a young scholar and specialist in military affairs. She attended a course at Moscow University. She is a regular reader of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. She is a walking encyclopedia on the Soviet Army. We were told, for example, that the question of a professional army had been discussed in the Soviet Union under Trotskiy and Frunze.

I would add that Assistant to the Vice President John Glassman is also an expert in Russian and our problems. He has worked at the U.S. Embassies in Moscow and Kabul.

..."The secretary of state obviously did not tell you anything he has not said before," a U.S. colleague retorted after the Soviet journalists' meeting with J. Baker. To be frank, we did not want any sensations. We want Soviet-American relations, having made a good start, to develop without upheavals, smoothly and dynamically, gathering force and embracing more and more new areas. Indeed, sensations, it seems, are not in Baker's character anyway. The organizer of G. Bush's presidential campaigns, he is an expert at precise calculation and serious preparatory work.

Answering my question, the U.S. secretary of state said that Soviet-U.S. relations occupy a very high, if not the highest place in the system of U.S. foreign policy priorities. Fortunately, he continued, it is a matter no longer just of competition, but also of cooperation between our countries. The marked changes in the USSR have also brought about changes for the better in American-Soviet relations—a shift from rivalry to dialogue and even collaboration.

J. Baker outlined the five main areas of intensive contacts. They are arms control, regional conflicts, human rights, bilateral relations, and global problems—ecology, terrorism, and so on. We have made progress on many issues, he continued. Our philosophy and our approach consist in reaching solutions benefiting both the United States and the USSR. There are several areas for progress. One of them, for example, is the achievement of an accord in the conventional arms reduction sphere.

The secretary of state said that this would reduce military tension, bring greater stability to Europe, and provide an opportunity for substantially reducing expenditure on defense to the benefit of both countries' economies.

In Baker's view, there are great opportunities for settling regional conflicts. Success in this area would help create a stable international climate.

J. Baker is an advocate of personal diplomacy.

"It was not difficult to establish personal contacts with Eduard Shevardnadze, who highly values this element of relations," the secretary of state said, recalling his trip to Moscow and the evening spent at our minister's apartment.

"Perhaps I am being somewhat naive," he continued, "but much was achieved in Wyoming as a result of the establishment of personal links and the meeting far from the bureaucratic and official milieu which exists in capitals."

J. Baker pointed out that Bush and Gorbachev are acquainted with one another. They have already had brief meetings.

"As the President's close friend for 35 years now," the secretary of state continued, "I can say that he also regards the personal element as very important and is seeking to establish the closest relations with President Gorbachev."

...I believe the U.S.view of the Soviet Union and of perestroyka, or, in the vocabulary of the local press, the "view of the Kremlin from the banks of the Potomac," would be incomplete if it were confined to expounding the official viewpoint. Incomplete because during the trip one formed the impression that virtually everyone in the United States has become a "Kremlinologist" or "Sovietologist"—such is the interest in the revolutionary processes taking place here. This can be judged by the changes in U.S. public opinion. In the past 6 years, according to Harris, the number of Americans regarding the USSR as an "unfriendly and hostile" state has fallen from 63 to 20 percent.

It cannot be said that they view us through rose-tinted spectacles. I noticed, for example, that Americans do not like it when trips to the United States are used as platforms for appeals and declarations on our internal problems or for settling scores with political opponents who have stayed home. Americans have a highly developed sense of patriotism and this kind of behavior does not fit their idea of it.

The benevolent attitude toward perestroyka in the United States is not altruistic. Americans are pragmatists. The question they usually ask themselves is: Is it worth their while backing perestroyka? Prudence is obviously better than a torrent of emotion. But even the arch-skeptics and the arch-pragmatists on the other side of the Atlantic are gradually coming to the conclusion that yes, it is worth it. It is better to have the Soviet Union as a stable partner in international affairs than as a potential enemy. This is the current trend in the development of Soviet-American relations. This is a gain for our people and for the cause of peace.

Mulroney To Urge Bush To 'Support' Perestroyka

PM2911112789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Item from TASS-REUTER roundup under the "Abroad" rubric: "B. Mulroney Statement"]

[Text] On his return from his tour of the Soviet Union, Canadian Prime Minister B. Mulroney stated that Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms require international support and he intends to inform U.S. President G. Bush of this this week.

Bessmertnykh Receives Canadian Ambassador

LD2811150189 Moscow TASS in English 1055 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—First Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh received today Canadian Ambassador to the USSR Vernon George Turner.

They discussed Soviet-Canadian relations in light of recent official visit of Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney to the Soviet Union.

China

Protocol on Trade Talks With PRC Signed 24 Nov

LD2611173289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Today in Beijing a protocol of negotiations between the trade ministers of the USSR and the PRC was signed. Albert Papayan, our correspondent in Beijing, reports:

[Papayan] It is stressed in the signed document that the sides are agreed on the necessity of widening links and cooperation. Immediately after signing the protocol, Hu Ping, PRC minister of commerce, highly evaluated the prospects for trade between China and the Soviet Union in his interview to Soviet radio. [Hu Ping in vernacular fading into Russian report] For the first time, we receive a delegation of the USSR Ministry of Trade headed by the minister of trade, on Chinese soil, Hu Ping says. We can enumerate a great number of spheres in which the PRC and the USSR could mutually exchange experience and copy positive things from each other. By strengthening our trade and economic cooperation, on the basis of equality and mutual advantage we can achieve great success. This cooperation will undoubtedly assist in improving the standard of living of working people in both countries.

On his part, Kondratiy Terekh, USSR minister of trade, expressed his confidence that if the relevant departments of both states render their active assistance, Soviet-Chinese trade and economic relations will be raised to a new level. The Soviet export includes refrigerators, cameras, Lada cars, and sawn timber. The Chinese side will supply the Soviet Union with ready-made guilted garments, ready-made clothing, knitwear for children, toilet soap, toothpaste, wallpaper, and video and audio cassettes. Supplies are being carried out with consideration given to insufficiency and shortages of these or other goods by each side.

USSR-PRC Trade Ministers Meeting Reported

OW1811214089 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] A Soviet trade delegation led by Soviet Minister of Trade Terekh is paying a 5-day visit to China.

The Chinese commerce minister met with the Soviet minister 17 November.

Karpov, PRC Military Experts Meet

LD2211003789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1729 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, 21 Nov (TASS)—Viktor Karpov, deputy USSR minister of foreign affairs, today received Liu Guangzhi, head of a group of PRC diplomatic and military experts, as well as its members, who are taking part in talks on questions of armed forces reductions along the Soviet-Chinese border, as well as confidence-building in the military sphere.

Yu Hongliang, PRC ambassador to the USSR, took part in the conversation.

RSFSR's Vlasov Meets Heilongjiang Premier

PM2411122189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Nov 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Results of Visit Summed Up"]

[Text] A conversation took place 20 November between A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers, and Shao Qihui, chairman of the Heilongjiang Province (PRC) People's Government.

During the meeting, which took place in a friendly atmosphere, the sides summed up the results of the talks and exchange of opinions between Shao Qihui, members of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and leaders of local bodies of authority of a number of krays and oblasts in the Soviet Far East and Siberia.

It was unanimously noted that the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting in May this year has opened up favorable prospects for the continued development of relations of good neighborliness and cooperation between the RSFSR and the border province of Heilongjiang, which is in the fundamental interests of both countries' peoples. Expressing satisfaction with the development of trade and industrial and other cooperation between the RSFSR and Heilongjiang Province in recent years, A.V. Vlasov and Shao Qihui discussed measures to improve this cooperation.

The two sides assessed the visit as highly productive. Shao Qihui invited A.V. Vlasov to visit Heilongjiang Province on an official friendly visit. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

A.V. Vlasov and Shao Qihui signed a final document on the results of the talks.

F.A. Tabeyev, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; V.M. Virogradov and L.V. Bagrov, RSFSR ministers; and also Yu Hongliang, PRC ambassador to the Soviet Union, took part in the conversation.

In the evening Shao Qihui and his entourage left Moscow for Beijing. They were seen off at the airport by A.V. Vlasov and other officials.

Northeast Asia

Korean-Soviet Friendship Society Anniversary Noted

SK1811074689 Moscow International Service in Korean 1330 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Talk by (Viktor Buikov), responsible secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet-Korean Friendship Society, on the occasion of the 44th anniversary of the Korean-Soviet Friendship Society; from the program "(?Road) of Friendship"—recorded in Russian fading into Korean translation]

[Text] I have visited the DPRK on many occasions. I have also met and talked with leaders and activists of the Korean-Soviet Friendship Society. I have been told that to consolidate friendly and cooperative relations between our two countries, Korean comrades have devoted time and efforts to informing the people of the DPRK on the success attained by the Soviet people and of their struggle to consolidate peace and security the world over.

I remember that I have visited the Kochang-ri Cooperation Farm of Korean-Soviet Friendship. The farm members have friendly relations with the members of the (Boris) Sovkhoz [state farm] near Moscow. They exchange visits and experiences with each other.

Construction sites and industrial enterprises also bear names of Korean-Soviet friendship.

In Korea, primary organizations of the Korean-Soviet Friendship Society work vigorously. These primary organizations have been established in schools, scientific research institutes, plants, and enterprises.

The activists of the Korean-Soviet Friendship Society have friendly relations with Soviet comrades in the same trades. For example, the workers of the Pyongyang Construction Materials Plant have friendly ties with those of No. 2 Construction Materials Plant in Moscow and the workers of the Pyongyang textile plant with those of the (Olevo Zuevo) weaving plant.

In particular, I would like to point with satisfaction to the vigorous practical and close cooperation between the Soviet-Korean Friendship Society and its Korean counterpart.

We regularly exchange photo exhibitions, films, and books.

The holidays of the two peoples—significant days in the history of Soviet-Korean relations—are marked with the presence of the activists of the two friendship societies.

In addition, contacts between the two societies have developed.

On several occasions every year, we receive delegations of the Korean-Soviet Friendship Society. Activists of our friendship society visit Korean friends.

Our delegation has recently visited the DPRK to attend functions to celebrate the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Availing myself of this opportunity, I wish the Korean friends and the activists of the friendship society new success in the noble cause of developing and strengthening friendship between the two countries.

Economic Cooperation With ROK Discussed

SK2911035589 Moscow International Service in Korean 1330 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Some time ago, the economic delegation of the Soviet Institute for World Economy and International Relations [IMEMO] visited the ROK [Hanguk]. The Soviet visitors met political, social, and business leaders of the ROK. In the meetings with them, interests were expressed over developing (?trade) and cultural relations with the Soviet Union.

The joint communique concerning the result of the visit noted the possibility of a renewed contact in the area of economic cooperation.

When the Soviet delegation returned home from the ROK, our station reporter (Linkov) met Professor Martynov, who led the delegation.

The reporter asked him about the level of the Soviet-ROK trade and economic relations.

Professor Martynov said that the economic relations between the ROK (?industries) and us are at a (?low) level. Neither the Soviet side nor the ROK side is satisfied with this.

The possibilities of developing the relations are extremely great. I discussed with four leaders of a big ROK business corporation. They called for a comprehensive development of the relations.

The meetings were held at the Korean Chamber of Commerce and Industry and at the Pusan Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The discussions were held as to the possibilities of cooperation in the areas of harbor facility construction, marine product processing, machine industry, and electronics industry.

The ROK can help the Soviet Union in producing television sets, refrigerators, tape recorders, and other home appliances, in settling the issue of the important pulp industry, and in satisfying the citizens' demands for consumer goods.

We have great possibilities of developing economic relations in all areas, in the production of daily necessities in particular. In my opinion, there should be (?no limitations) in our relations. All industries should participate. The future of cooperation in such an area as the establishment of joint-venture enterprises is very bright. [Passages indistinct]

The ROK is one of the most rapidly developing countries in the world. In this regard, we have great interest in the future possibilities.

DPRK Nuclear-Free Zone Proposal Welcomed

PM2011162989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Nov 89 First Edition p 5

[V. Osipov article: "Nuclear-Free Zone for the Korean Peninsula"]

[Text] Pyongyang recently made another appeal for the Korean Peninsula to be cleared of nuclear weapons. The DPRK Foreign Ministry issued a statement in which it proposed holding trilateral talks involving the DPRK, the United States, and South Korea on the withdrawal of U.S. nuclear weapons from South Korea and also bilateral talks between Pyongyang and Seoul on adopting a declaration on transforming the Korean Peninsula into a nuclear-free peace zone. The DPRK also proposed elaborating international legal guarantees of Korea's nuclear-free status.

According to Pyongyang, a declaration on a nuclear-free zone should provide for the cessation by North and South of the testing, storage, and import of nuclear weapons and a ban on the deployment and shipment of such weapons belonging to foreign states and define the procedure for verifying the peninsula's nuclear-free status. It must be said that the very idea of a nuclear-free zone in Korea was first mentioned, as is well known, in a declaration signed by delegations from the Workers Party of Korea and the Japan Socialist Party in 1981. In 1985 the DPRK acceded to the Nonproliferation Treaty. In 1986 a statement issued by the republic's government once again confirmed the official stance—"not to test,

produce, import, or deploy nuclear weapons on its territory." Thus, North Korea has already effectively been proclaimed a nuclear-free zone.

At the same time there are U.S. nuclear munitions in South Korea. In proposing to discuss the question of the withdrawal of U.S. nuclear weapons at a trilateral meeting involving Pyongyang, Washington, and Seoul, the DPRK has thus once again urged the United States to come to the negotiating table. In the course of these negotiations, Pyongyang believes, other problems between the two countries could also be solved. Many such problems have accumulated. In addition to the aforementioned problem of nuclear weapons in the South, the DPRK is also concerned—quite justifiably, it must be admitted—by the actual presence of the 43,000-strong U.S. expeditionary corps in South Korea and the large-scale U.S.-South Korean "Team Spirit" military exercises, which take place every year in the southern part of the peninsula.

Pyongyang has frequently proposed reaching agreement on replacing the interim armistice agreement with a peace treaty. But, as a rule, people in Washington have either rejected these initiatives or remained silent. Admittedly, there is now a hope that signs of change are about to appear. Last year North Korean-U.S. contacts began in Beijing. Five meetings have already taken place. A recent visit to Pyongyang by G. Sigur, former U.S. assistant secretary of state, and his talks with representatives of the DPRK leadership provoked satisfaction on both sides. However, let us not make advance predictions on this score. There is still a considerable way to go before Pyongyang-Washington dialogue is put on a stable footing.

In this situation, proclaiming the Korean Peninsula a nuclear-free zone would be a major step toward solving the complex military-political situation in Korea and would help advance inter-Korean dialogue. The creation of such a zone on the peninsula would undoubtedly strengthen the nuclear nonproliferation regime, which is particularly important now that certain states are making attempts to violate this regime and set up production of their own nuclear weapons. Beyond any doubt, implementation of the idea of a nuclear-free zone in Korea would be an essential contribution to the process of detente in the Asia-Pacific region.

The Soviet Union, as a USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman noted in a statement, fully supports the new DPRK proposal and expresses readiness to be a guarantor of the Korean Peninsula's nuclear-free status. One would like to hope that all the states interested in a peaceful settlement of the Korean question, above all the United States and South Korea, will not reject Pyongyang's new initiative but will treat it most seriously and attentively.

Japanese-Soviet Mayors' Conference Discussed

OW1911075589 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] The 12th Japanese-Soviet coastal mayors' conference was held in Yamagata City on 12 and 13 November. The main subject was the development of multilateral good-neighborly relations between Japan and the Soviet Union. In this connection, the TASS news agency reports that the conference discussed expansion of cooperation in public opinion in Eastern Siberia, the Soviet Far East and the coastal districts along the Japan Sea and the activation of exchanges in the cultural, athletic, and scientific areas. Special emphasis was laid on the establishment and development of trade and economic relations between cities of the two countries. Special importance was attached to the promotion of exchanges among youth in those areas and exchanges of experience and cooperation in environmental issues.

At the meeting, Honjo City Mayor (Kosuga) stated: The current mayors' conference is certain to accelerate the deepening of bilateral understanding between Japanese and Soviet cities, and to contribute to strengthening global peace and economic development between the two countries. Therefore, we should seek a way for coexistence and prosperity of the two countries sharing space in the Japan Sea.

Maizuru City Mayor Machii pointed out: Perestroyka is presently being carried out in the Soviet Union under Chairman Gorbachev's leadership. Reform is being promoted not only in the economic area, but in all areas of life in the nation. Perestroyka is truly historical work. The Soviet Union now devotes much more energy than ever before to improving relations with Western countries, including Japan. It seems that a great wall which has previously separated the peoples of the two countries is being removed.

Khabarovsk Mayor (Panchenko), who led the Soviet delegation, stressed: We respect the Japanese people's expectations and their thinking. I am very pleased to see the understanding and respect expressed toward us by the Japanese side. Mutual respect and understanding are the very things that are particularly important for relations between states and people in a restless and tense era at the end of the century.

Since the tragedies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki could not stop things, it has been necessary to go as far as the limitation of arms storage and the Chernobyl tragedy in order to head toward the road to trust, agreement, and disarmament.

Novosibirsk Mayor (Inzinok) said: The Japanese business circles are interested in cooperation with Siberia, but it is clear that they regard us as just a source of raw materials supply. In addition, there are a great number of restrictions and prohibitions provided in Japan for trade with the Soviet Union. I take this opportunity to request

that all Japanese mayors cooperate to correct the mistaken, fixed idea about the Soviet Union and remove obstacles on the path of trade and economic cooperation.

At the meeting, messages from Japanese Foreign Minister Nakayama and Soviet Ambassador to Japan Solovyev were read.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Shevardnadze Receives Cambodian Ambassador

LD2811152389 Moscow TASS in English 1452 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze on Monday received Cambodian Ambassador to the Soviet Union Hor Nam Hong, in connection with his final departure for home.

The two men held an exchange of views on the Cambodian issue.

The ambassador reaffirmed Cambodia's invariable course on national reconciliation and settlement of the conflict in South-East Asia through political means. He stated his government's desire to take part in a new informal meeting on Cambodia in the framework of the international Paris conference.

Also raised was the issue of a moratorium on military deliveries to all Cambodian sides which would help prevent the intensification of civil war in Cambodia, localise the conflict, lessen the threat of restoring the genocide regime in the country and bring nearer the attainment of a comprehensive political settlement.

Both sides voiced satisfaction with the state of the entire complex of Soviet-Cambodian relations and noted favourable prospects for their further development.

The conversation passed in a warm comradely atmosphere.

Trade Protocol Signed With Cambodia

LD2611014489 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] The Soviet Union and Cambodia have signed in Moscow a protocol on trade and payments for next year. The document provides for expanding commodity exchanges. The Soviet Union will supply Cambodia with machinery and equipment in exchange for agricultural produce, natural rubber, and tropical wood.

CPSU Delegation Meets Cambodian Leaders

PM2711142389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading "Chronicle"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan for interparty ties between the CPSU and the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP], a delegation of CPSU party workers visited Cambodia 14 through 22 November to be familiarized with the KPRP's work and to exchange experience on foreign policy activity. The delegation was received by Men Sam-An, member of the Politburo and secretary of the KPRP Central Committee, and Sim Ka, member of the KPRP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Cambodian-Soviet Friendship Society.

Cambodia's Hun Sen Condemns Foreign Interference

PM2811133589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by B. Vinogradov: "Cambodia: Interference Under Guise of Aid"]

[Text] Phnom Penh—To judge by the reports coming in from the northwestern regions of Cambodia, stabilization has come on the fronts of the fierce war that has erupted between government troops and Khmer opposition forces.

After the first massive attacks by the Pol Pot, Sihanouk, and Son Sann groupings, the local newspaper commentaries say, the enemy has switched to the defensive. Attempts to build on their success were thwarted by the resolute actions of the Cambodian people's armed forces. Even the opposition members themselves have been obliged to admit that at the initial stage of their military campaign they have been unable to achieve the aims they set themselves. Analyzing the situation, foreign observers believe that the time has come to sum up some result of the "trial of strength that has taken place." Here the opinion is being voiced that now, with the advent of the "dry season," Phnom Penh will undoubtedly have the advantage.

To have a clearer idea of the military and political situation that has taken shape, correspondents in Phnom Penh asked Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen to comment on the events and answer topical questions of the day.

"Unfortunately, neither the Paris conference nor the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia in late September has led to the achievement of an accord on the peaceful settlement of the conflict," Hun Sen said. "Some states, despite the promises they gave before to cease supplies of weapons to the conflicting sides, are not keeping their word. This policy inexorably leads to the aggravation of the situation and the expansion of civil war. Understandably, the opposition is greatly tempted in the next few months to try with the aid of force to alter the situation in its favor. That is why they have rejected the Thai premier's proposal to resume the four-sided dialogue and gather at a 'roundtable' to seek a political solution."

"The situation is aggravated by the overt and covert interference of countries like the United States, China,

and Malaysia in Cambodia's internal affairs," Hun Sen stressed. "We know that military instructors from these and other states are taking part in training the thugs of Son Sann, Sihanouk, and Pol Pot. Vietnamese emigres living in displaced persons' camps in Thailand are also being used against us as mercenaries. The troops of Son Sann and Sihanouk have received modern antitank missiles produced in the FRG, and France and Singapore are supplying them with weapons and ammunition... And the deliveries are mounting. What is this if not the desire to fan still further the flames of civil war in our country? And this is being done allegedly to 'help achieve a political settlement.' In other words, they want to force us to agree to the restoration of the Pol Pot regime and to the admission of the executioners of the Cambodian people to a future coalition government. We state again that we will not entertain this option."

"As for some opposition 'victories' on the battlefield," Hun Sen continued, "the seizure of Pailin and a number of villages close to the border does not yet mean that it has achieved the implementation of its strategic designs. Rather the opposite. The enemy has been bursting to reach Battambang and Siem Reap, counting on seizing these cities in the very first month. But he has miscalculated. Our troops have not only stopped him but are shifting to a counteroffensive. I assert again that we do not want war because it entails grief and suffering for many thousands of our compatriots. And if we fight, then it is only against the return of the Pol Pot supporters to Cambodia. Without foreign interference, on condition that arms deliveries from abroad are completely stopped, the Cambodians will find a common language as soon as possible and resolve their problems through talks," Hun Sen said in conclusion.

Situation After UN Vote on Cambodia Viewed

BK2211070589 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] The UN General Assembly recently adopted a resolution on the Cambodian situation. As everyone knows, during the debate the majority of delegates voiced their support for this resolution. The minority, including the Soviet Union, opposed it. Twelve countries abstained. Following is our observer Yevgeniy Belov's comments.

In my view, the debate on the Cambodian problem was constructive. Delegates addressing the meeting tried to explain their attitudes and the points they liked and those they did not. I suppose this is the essence of the debate—and not just the international atmosphere, which has moved remarkably toward reducing international tension. The accumulated positive influence of talks to solve regional conflicts also played a part. In Cambodia, the year between the 43d and 44th session of the UN General Assembly was full of major events.

Talks among various Cambodian parties were held at different levels and the Cambodian political forces clearly expressed their attitudes and views. Heated negotiations were replaced by changes of attitude in a serious atmosphere. The international conference on Cambodia in Paris played an important role. Although it did not produce concrete results, the difference between various opinions were greatly reduced. The setting up of an international control mechanism to supervise a ceasefire and the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia could be solved. After talks among Cambodian parties, all Vietnamese troops were withdrawn from Cambodia. Cambodian parties agreed on the establishment of a Cambodian Government to respond to the aspiration of all nationalist circles in the country. This path has now become clear. More difficult, in my view, is the agreement on the so-called Khmer Rouge, namely the Pol Pot group.

During the debate on the Cambodian issue, a large number of countries attending the UN General Assembly discussed the Khmer Rouge and their barbarous acts against the Cambodian people and demanded the non-return to power of the Pol Pot group. They only demanded this verbally; in practice, the text of the resolution—which the Soviet Union opposed—has left many loopholes for the Khmer Rouge. For example, the establishment of a quadripartite government was envisaged, although one of the parties is represented by the Khmer Rouge. Although the resolution resolutely and unconditionally denounces the Pol Pot group's genocidal policy, it only appeals for the non-return to the policy of the recent past. It is obvious that a document, interpreted this way, can mean anything. The Cambodian people, tens of thousands of them refugees, insistently have called for measures to prevent the Pol Pot group—which has massacred 3 million of its compatriots—from returning to power.

An AFP correspondent in New York noted the inconsistent attitudes of the governments of Australia and New Zealand. Outwardly, they denounced Pol Pot; in practice, however, they voted in support of the resolution which legitimized the ambitions of the Khmer Rouge, who boast of their right to hold power in Cambodia. The governments of the United States and Britain also behaved this way. Unlike previous UN General Assembly sessions, Sweden this time abstained. As the Swedish permanent representative to the United Nations said, his country cannot agree to any role for the Khmer Rouge. The Indian paper INDIAN EXPRESS considered the resolution on Cambodia a serious mistake. The paper writes: The murderers among the Khmer Rouge were delighted with this kind of resolution and have demanded participation in Cambodia's new political structures.

I agree with the Indian paper.

Commentary Backs Australian Stand on Khmer Rouge

BK2811080789 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Station observer Oleg Alekseyev commentary]

[Text] The Australian Government is vehemently opposed to the idea that the Khmer Rouge is allowed to participate in a political settlement of the Cambodian problem. As Australian Foreign Affairs and Trade Minister Gareth Evans told Parliament, it is unquestionable that Pol Pol and other butchers—accountable for their policy of genocide in Cambodia—should have no more chance to regain political power in the country. Our observer, Comrade Oleg Alekseyev, has the following comments:

The Australian Government should be praised for its stand on the question of the Khmer Rouge. It is unquestionable that the policy was formulated on the basis of realism and common sense. It is generally known that the Khmer Rouge or the Pol Pot gang's eagerness to participate in the settlement of the Cambodian problem has become the biggest stumbling block on the way toward restoring peace in the country.

We wish to summarize the root cause of the Cambodia problem: The reign of Pol Pot regime in Cambodia, which lasted less than 4 years from 1975 to the end of 1978. It was a real regime of terror, which shed the people's blood all over the country and took the lives of over 3 million victims who were tortured in concentration camps. There are countless accounts of horrible tyranny imposed by Pot Pot and his accomplices upon the Cambodian people. Can such a horrendous tragedy be allowed to take place again? At present, such a danger is imminent; and if it is not taken into serious consideration, this is tantamount to turning a blind eye to reality.

In assessing the situation in refugee camps since the collapse of the Khmer Rouge regime in January 1979, some have thought that the group seems to have reviewed its policy; as such, its participation in a political settlement of the Cambodian problem appears to cause no danger. But this interpretation is unacceptable not only to Australia but also to many other countries. It is worth mentioning the recent statement given by former secretary of state Edmund Muskie at a press conference in Washington following his return from a visit to the Indochinese countries. Among other things, Edmund said that the Khmer Rouge—like before—are still pursuing the doctrine and policy of genocide.

We also wish to recall an appeal in connection with the situation in Cambodia made by the European Parliament last Thursday to all the EEC member countries and the United States. The appeal reflects the idea that different measures should be taken to prevent the Khmer Rouge from returning to power. As such, as the listeners have heard, whatever the hope of the Khmer Rouge and their backers may be, the international community has become increasingly aware of the danger that could result from the stubborn policy of the gang with tens of thousands of troops. Their inflexibility is at present a major obstacle on the way toward restoring peace in Cambodia.

That being the case, in our opinion the Australian Government's demand for the cessation of military aid to the Khmer Rouge—as indicated by Australian Foreign Affairs and Trade Minister Gareth Evans—is a timely, mandatory requirement.

Paper Cited on 'Renewal' of Socialism in Vietnam

PM2911160989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Nov 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "On the Reform Path"]

[Text] The reforms now being carried out in a number of socialist countries are the objective demands of the time.

They are aimed not at negating socialism, but the reverse, at continuing to improve it, an article published yesterday in NHAN DAN stresses.

The policy of renewal worked out at the Sixth Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] Congress concerns primarily the renewal of people's thinking, particularly in their economic activity, because in the past during the socialist building of Vietnamese society serious mistakes were tolerated, the publication says. Now it has already become clear that complex economic problems cannot be solved by relying only on revolutionary enthusiasm, and any attempt to avert particular measures in spite of the historical realities will inevitably end in defeat. Another no less important source of mistakes was the absence of a creative approach in utilizing fraternal countries' experience.

The decisions of the Sixth CPV Congress, and also a number of party documents adopted since, have determined the main path of renewal in all spheres of Vietnamese society's life. Substantial changes have been made in the last 3 years alone. Socialism in the SRV has become more lively and dynamic and more in keeping with Marxist-Leninist theory. But, in spite of all these achievements, negative factors have emerged recently in the renewal process, connected with the fact that some people, hiding behind alleged vigorous participation in the renewal, are really trying to steer it away from the course intended.

Western Criticism of Burmese Regime Noted

BK2611113589 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Station observer Aleksandr Vladimirov commentary]

[Excerpts] As preparations for the elections in Myanmar next May pick up momentum, the intense criticism of the Myanmar military government by the Western media and diplomatic circles has also intensified. This is because the government has arrested and jailed opposition leaders. However, not all foreign envoys are sympathetic to the views of the West. They do not seem to be very keen in supporting the policy of economic sanctions against Yangon.

After announcing that they would not be assisting the Myanmar military government for staging the coup on 18 September last year, the United States and the European Economic Community imposed an economic boycott. Rifts, however, have appeared months after that boycott.

Japan offered recognition of the military government on 17 February this year while Australia has resumed economic aid to Yangon. From press reports, Western circles have criticized Australia and Japan for their liberal approach toward the Yangon military government, but it appears that the charge has been refuted. This is apparent from the recent statement by the Japanese foreign minister that he was taking a careful look at the way Myanmar authorities are handling the case of opposition leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

The vociferous clamor and propaganda about the political situation in Myanmar, however, do not appear to affect the Western and Asian companies which are fully exploiting the fruits of the open door economic policy practiced by Yangon. An agreement on the exploration and extraction of natural gas in Myanmar was signed by a foreign concern this month—the seventh contract so far. Despite the consistent and intense criticism of the Myanmar military government by the United States and the European Economic Community, companies from these countries are among those which have concluded the contracts.

Although sanctions and boycotts have been imposed against Myanmar, the country has not lost contact with the other countries. This is apparent from reading the economic news in that country within the past 45 days. A Thai economic delegation headed by Banhan Sinlapaacha, minister of industry, visited Yangon at the end of September. At about the same time, a Myanmar delegation arrived in Thailand to attend the first meeting of the Thai-Myanmar Border Commission. [passage omitted] These and the other facts prove that the trading circles in all countries, including the United States, want to have economic and trading links with Yangon. Trying to obstruct this trend will not change the situation in Myanmar.

The statement of the former Australian ambassador to Myanmar should be carefully studied in this regard. He said reports about opposition leaders being oppressed in Myanmar are being exaggerated. Evidently, certain courses of action taken by some state organizations and political leaders pose an obstacle to and prevent the normalization of relations with Myanmar. These courses, Aleksandr Vladimirov says, assume the form of vociferous statements issued either out of dissatisfaction over, or because of genuine concern for, the way developments are taking place.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Rebel Accusations Against USSR Dismissed

LD2911155789 Moscow TASS in English 1539 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—By TASS political analyst Askold Biryukov:

"President" of the so-called Transition Government of Afghanistan Sebghatullah Mujaddedi, who was hosted in the White House last Monday, made a false and slanderous statement in Washington about the Soviet Union and its policy in Afghanistan.

According to Mujaddedi, the Soviet Union has "only partially withdrawn its troops from Afghanistan" and "Soviet soldiers, disguised as Afghans, still participate in hostilities in Afghanistan." He also claimed that Soviet aircraft "still bomb our people and rebel forces from bases on Soviet territory."

The ASSOCIATED PRESS reports that the Afghan rebel leader resorted to these insinuations when asked why, despite all their assurances, the rebels are still unable to overthrow the Najibullah government. This lie also had the purpose of obtaining large U.S. deliveries of arms to the rebels, especially of heavy weaponry.

The falsity and slanderous purpose of the statement is obvious. It is well known that there are no Soviet soldiers or even military advisers in Afghanistan. All assertions of this kind, just as allegations about Soviet aircraft bombing the Afghan people and the rebels, are nothing but ill-intended fabrications. It is well known who really is bombing peaceful Afghan villages. Four rebel missiles fired at Kabul at the end of November claimed the lives of 26 people and wounded 37.

According to the Afghan Ministry of Internal Affairs, the rebels have fired about 2,000 missiles at Kabul killing almost 550 civilians and wounding 1,480. The intensity of such assaults has more than trebled compared to last year.

This point is perfectly clear to world public opinion. But the question arises why did the U.S. mass media publish these ill-intended rebels slanders? Is it because Washington, paying lip service to a political settlement in Afghanistan, actually wants to achieve it by armed force, relying on the rebels who are abundantly supplied with arms through CIA channels? This is obviously done in violation of the Geneva agreements signed by the United States and contrary to the resolution of Afghanistan adopted by the UN General Assembly on November 1st.

Washington should have realised long ago that a military solution of the Afghan conflict is impossible. Charles William Maynes, publisher of the FOREIGN POLICY magazine, notes in today's NEW YORK TIMES that the administration insists on bridling a dead horse. He says that both Washington and the rebels have gone over to

protracted bloody hostilities the outcome of which will probably never be decided on the battlefield.

Does Washington lack a sense of political realism to look at the situation with sober eyes? Will it never heed the voice of the international community which calls for an end to the war in Afghanistan?

2 Soviet POW's Leave Islamabad for Moscow

LD2811161589 Moscow TASS in English 1442 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Islamabad November 28 TASS—Two Soviet servicemen, Andrey Lopukh and Valeriy Prokopchyuk, who were imprisoned during the Afghan war, and their mothers left Islamabad International Airport for the Soviet Union today. They are being accompanied by a delegation of the Soviet Committee for releasing prisoners of the Afghan war (Nadezhda).

Commentator Praises Release

LD2811225989 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] A moving ceremony, which according to witnesses brought tears to the eyes of many people, took place in Peshawar, Pakistan, on Monday. Mothers embraced their sons, two 20-year-old Soviet soldiers. One of them had been kept prisoner by Afghan rebels for 2 years, the other for 2 and ½ years. Yuriy Solton makes these comments.

The road to freedom was long and thorny. The Soviet Government used every means to free the men, but it's hard to enumerate the government and public organizations that were actively involved in this noble cause and we are deeply grateful to them for doing so. The attitude of the Afghan President Najibullah and the Pakistani Government of Benazir Bhutto deserve special mention. The relations between the two countries are tense, nevertheless, statesmen of the two countries managed to find a common language and persuade the mujahidin to release part of Soviet prisoners-of-war. In return, Kabul is releasing 33 Afghan opposition members and Pakistani and Arab advisers taken prisoner.

We have witnessed an act of mercy and humaneness. This is a fair cause and we hope that this is just the beginning. The mujahidin keep over 300 Soviet prisoners-of-war. We realize that the war in Afghanistan, where Soviet soldiers were sent and from where, to our great relief, they have returned, caused great suffering. Hundreds of thousands of Afghan mothers mourn the deaths of their sons killed in action. We understand their feelings, but it is important that the pain of loss should not grow into hatred, kindle animosity, provoke more bloodshed. The humane act of freeing two Soviet soldiers and releasing 33 prisoners-of-war in Afghanistan will probably make the conflicting sides think that it is high time to stop this senseless war that brings only sorrow and suffering to people.

PRAVDA Reports Najibullah Interview

PM2811171089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Nov 89 Second Edition p 4

[Report on interview with Afghan President Najibullah by V. Pyadyshev: "How It Was...Afghan President Najibullah Explains" in Kabul; date of interview not given]

[Excerpts] History records that President Najibullah was the first Afghan leader in whose time foreign troops left his country's territory—under an international accord, with sighs of relief on all sides.

Foreign soldiers in your homeland never prompt feelings of joy, even if they have been called in to help you. Foreign troops fit in even less well in a country like Afghanistan, where everything rejects what is alien—both past history, which dragged on in a long succession of wars for freedom, and today's reality, which barely stands out as a pinpoint of civilization above the depths of the Middle Ages, Islamic foundations, and traditions.

I am just back from Kabul.

Even now there are sunny blue skies there, and tension hangs constantly in the translucent mountain air.

On the first evening, my meeting with Najibullah lasted more than 3 hours. The conversation lasted as long again on the following day. [passage omitted]

"On the eve of the withdrawal of Soviet troops," the president recalls, "E.A. Shevardnadze and V.A. Kryuchkov came to our home. It was a warm meeting, and very necessary for my wife Fatana and our three daughters. During the conversation it was proposed tactfully that my wife and children should go away, while the fighting continued, to the Soviet Union, to somewhere more peaceful.

"Fatana replied firmly: We are not going anywhere, we will all stay together."

The worst did not happen. Najibullah's government did not fall. Furthermore it is building up its tenacity.

The difficulties are enormous. It is still necessary to rely mainly on Soviet ammunition deliveries. Supplies follow the only road—which is partially broken—from Hayratan to Kabul, and are also airlifted. As yet there is no alternative. The other side receives plentiful supplies of weapons from the United States, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt. Weapons caravans continue to come in from Iran and China.

But there are increasingly positive responses to the Afghan settlement program, key elements in which are the convening of an international conference on Afghanistan and the holding of countrywide general elections.

The president named many representatives of the Peshawar "Seven" and field commanders with whom discussions are in progress, and are often going quite well. Two-thirds of the field commanders are not waging war on the government. The departure of the Soviet troops generated a phenomenon that could perhaps have been foreseen. In the opposition camp, which was formerly cemented by the struggle against a foreign force, acute contradictions flared up.

I would like to tell you about a telephone conversation that took place recently between President Najibullah and E.A. Shevardnadze. The content of the conversation is surprising. Fighting is in progress in many places in the country, but the president, when he called Moscow, expounded a whole program for the peaceful restoration of the Afghan economy and the development of Soviet-Afghan economic relations, and not in the form of aid from the Soviet Union, but on a mutually beneficial basis.

The president said that the threat of collapse in Afghanistan has receded and it is time to bring economic ties out of their frozen state. For instance, deliveries of Afghan gas to the USSR or the extraction of barytes in Herat, near the Soviet border, could be resumed. One could think about the construction of a meat combine for exports to the Soviet Union.

Eduard Amvrosiyevich supported all these ideas. It was agreed that the departments will study their practical development.

"In the time that has elapsed since then," the president said, "the Afghan Council of Ministers has formulated a substantial package of proposals. We discussed them with the Soviet ambassador. The majority of them are worth adopting and implementing. But the main thing is to ensure security for the normal operation of facilities.

"That would mean a great deal for us Afghans," the president went on. "I think it would also meet with a good response among Soviet people. We realize that you are having to help Afghanistan, when you have plenty of problems of your own. You have, for instance, sugar rationing, yet tens of thousands of tons of sugar are at dumps in Hayratan ready for dispatch to Afghanistan. We would like to respond, if only in a small way, to the Soviet people's generosity."

So how should we build relations with Afghanistan in the future? In my view, the foreign policy of perestroyka, if it really wants to serve our national interests, should rid us as far as possible of the burden of near and far ideologized military commitments abroad, which are a great weight on our country.

But Afghanistan is a special case. Too much is associated with it for us to be able to shake the Afghan cross off our shoulders immediately. Difficult as it may be, we have no moral right, dear compatriots, to refuse our support to Afghanistan and the Afghan people.

BBC Cited on Afghan Rebel Smuggling Into USSR

LD2411162389 Moscow TASS in English 1607 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] London November 24 TASS—Afghan "freedom fighters" engage in subversive activities against the USSR, the BBC television reports.

The corporation showed a reportage from a secluded Hindu Kush locality where a group of armed mojahids tried to smuggle subversive religious literature into Soviet Tajikistan over the Amu Darya River. The smugglers had hardly set foot on Soviet soil when they had to flee from Soviet frontier guards. The attempt failed.

Commander of the gang operating in Hindu Kush Mountains has confirmed in an interview with the BBC that his men had gone over the frontier river previously too.

Vorontsov, Pakistan Envoy Discuss Afghanistan

LD2811160589 Moscow TASS in English 1427 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov today received Pakistani Ambassador to the Soviet Union Abdus Sattar at the latter's request.

They discussed Soviet-Pakistani relations, the Afghan settlement and other issues of mutual interest.

'Progress' in Iran-Afghanistan Relations Seen

NC2311191589 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Station commentary]

[Text] A plot by a group to assassinate one of the leaders of the Afghanistan security organs was thwarted in Kabul. The said group had been sent on the mission by the field commander of the eight-party alliance. Anvari, the commander, is well-known for his contacts with spies and intelligence agents of the United States, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan. It was revealed that the assassination attempt was clearly undertaken in order to prevent peace talks between representatives of the eight-party alliance and the Afghan Government from taking place. Our commentator writes on this:

I think that the political objectives behind this terrorist attempt are far more extensive than this. Positive progress has recently been made in relations between Afghanistan and Iran, where the eight-party alliance is based. Iran is no longer a virtual participant in the undeclared war against Afghanistan. And the growth within the eight-party alliance of a desire for peaceful talks with Afghanistan and for an end to the bloodshed did not come about without Iran's influence. But it is exactly because of this that the opponents of national peace, among which are specific circles in the United

States and Saudi Arabia, have started extensive activities to prevent a political solution of the Afghanistan problem.

THE LOS ANGELES TIMES, citing high-ranking sources in the U.S. Government, reports that an agreement to extend $715 million assistance to the Afghan opposition has been reached between Washington and Riyadh. Out of this amount, $218 million will be provided by Congress, at President Bush's request, and the remainder will be supplied by Saudi Arabia. Naturally the extremists will have to justify this assistance through the intensification of armed struggle and assassinations.

The opponents of a peaceful solution thus want to thwart the process of unity among the healthy forces of Afghan society and the normalization of Iran-Afghanistan relations. As far as Saudi Arabia is concerned, it should be said that Riyadh is pursuing a special objective. The Saudis are trying to place the Afghan fundamentalists under their control and thus to neutralize Iran's influence. It is no coincidence that Tehran's JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI points out that Saudi Arabia's assistance to the mujahidin stems from specific demands and that it will have bitter consequences for the Afghans. The newspaper stresses that the Saudis' assistance is aimed at bringing a pro-American regime to power in Afghanistan. Meanwhile, all these things are being done under the mask of concern for the fate of Islam and of a desire to help the struggle against so-called atheists.

However, now—after the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan—the enemies of Afghanistan's independence have lost the possibility of exploiting public opinion with the help of the so-called Soviet trump card. Social circles in various countries of the world are seeing, more and more clearly, that the responsibility for the continuation of bloodshed rests, primarily, on the shoulders of the mentors of the intransigent Afghan opposition—that is, the United States, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia.

In his interview with Tehran's RESALAT, Afghan President Najibullah stated: Afghanistan is now coming under blatant aggression by some governments, hence the need for us to strengthen the country's defense structure in order to defend independence and national sovereignty.

I think that in reading this review, the Iranian reader is assured that there is a good outlook for the establishment of peace in Afghanistan. What guarantees this is the realistic policy pursued by the Afghan leadership in its pursuit of a peaceful solution for the internal conflict and in the dynamic movement of the world's social circles for the full implementation of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan.

Iran's Isolation, Need for Democratization Viewed

NC2311194889 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Hojjat ol-Eslam 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the president of Iran, has called on Iranians to move away from the spirit of isolationism and forge ahead with the Islamic revolution by increasing their active contacts with the outside world. He stressed: Our greatest problem is that we are (?not) a producing country and true independence does not lie merely in expanding contacts [gostaresh-e ertebatat].

As the result of certain measures, Iran has become the victim of international isolation. Following the victory of the antimonarchical revolution which ended imperialist domination, the United States and its allies embarked on an embargo of Iran . An economic siege of Iran by the United States is still in force. On the other hand, the fundamentalists who took power into their own hands in 1980 assisted in created conditions which, in many ways, transformed Iran into a fortress under siege.

Repeated provocations against the Embassy of the USSR and those of other countries generated a negative reaction in public opinion and international social, commercial, and political circles. All these factors resulted in the creation of a feeling of isolationism in a considerable section of the Iranian people. A fundamentalist policy of exporting the Islamic revolution and the prolongation of the Iran-Iraq war further aggravated the trend toward isolation.

The remarks by Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani regarding a nonproducing society in a state of international isolationism are completely (?justified). The USSR has had its own experience of the effects of isolationism, following the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution; most of the previous leaders insisted on imposing them. A shortage of a large number of essential goods needed by (?people) and retrogression in certain scientific and technical fields were the outcome of the same kind of isolation and restrictions.

The present policy of the Soviet leadership is to be alert to the need for the expansion of wider international contacts to reform this very state of affairs. With an open-door policy in an (?era of) open doors, a country may be able to forge links with governments that respect its independence and national sovereignty and base relations on equal rights and reciprocal benefits. It is clear that the continuation of the tension in relations with the United States stems from the fact that Washington employs tactics of duress and resorts to force with regard to developing countries. While the United States continues its policy of imposing economic embargoes and (?keeping) Iranian assets in U.S. banks and its military and naval forces in the Persian Gulf near Iran, it is not difficult to comprehend the reasons for the lack of progress in U.S.-Iranian relations.

In brief, the emergence from isolation is a complicated, complex, and difficult task.

We wish to air our opinions on another (?aspect) for our esteemed listeners. The creation of open doors to the

outside world without abiding by the norms of freedom within the country cannot yield the desired results. This means certain conditions must be created so that human rights, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press are respected. These are conditions under which the government is answerable to its people. The path toward attaining such freedoms has encountered some difficulty in Iran.

Following the cease-fire on the Iran-Iraq fronts, a situation was created in the country which firmly demanded the democratization of society. The spirit of democracy of the masses has not been viewed favorably by the ruling circles. In addition, following the end of the war, the fundamentalists once again became active in their attacks on national and democratic forces. However, with the assumption of power by Iran's new leadership, the resonant call for a move toward greater freedom in Iran's social life can be heard once again.

Without doubt, democratization on the home front could facilitate the projection of a favorable image for Iran on the international level. Iran's image has perhaps been marred as a result of criticisms on human rights grounds. It is obvious that a more positive image could assist Iran in broadening its international links and relations.

TEHRAN TIMES View of USSR-Iraq Ties Scored

NC2611135089 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary entitled: "Some Questions From TEHRAN TIMES"]

[Text] Esteemed listeners. TEHRAN TIMES carried an article by its analysis group in which the accord to be signed shortly between the Soviet Union and Iraq has been criticized.

This newspaper accuses Moscow of not being able to fulfill Iran's expectations in assisting in the establishment of peace. Of course, the TEHRAN TIMES article does not place a question mark on the normalization of relations between Iran and the Soviet Union, which has been witnessed recently. However, by an assessment of ties with Iran from the point of view of extensive cooperation and friendship, one cannot ignore the phenomena which are the cause of apprehension.

Displaying a reaction to new phenomena and current changes is natural and normal. I wish to review this phenomena and air my personal opinion on the above article.

We know that anger in politics is not fruitful. Contemporary international relations are based on extremely delicate and fragile ratios of interests and benefits and the seeking of compromise as well as holding beneficial discussions between completely diverse forces. Today, any other approach to international politics has no future and would be tantamount to sacrificing the interests of other countries for the purpose of attaining one's own objectives.

The indignant reaction of the TEHRAN TIMES came following the publication of a report on the signing of a cooperation accord shortly between the Soviet Union and Iraq. This newspaper claims that not only did Moscow not fulfill Iran's expectations regarding assisting in the establishment of peace, but also adopted a stance that created obstacles to the establishment of peace.

This newspaper deduces that it is natural that Tehran will consider such dealings as factors that will possibly exert influence on politico-economic relations with the Soviet Union.

As we observe, the issue has been presented in an uncompromising and strongly-worded manner. However, in view of the realities of today's world, the (?implications) of the issue are contrary to the claims of this newspaper.

I wish to ask some questions of the TEHRAN TIMES analysis group. Does not the signing of an economic cooperation accord between Iraq and the Soviet Union concern only the people of these two countries? Were not similar accords signed with the Islamic Republic? It is a fact that contemporary international life is not a one-way street.

At least the Soviet Union does not allow itself to direct Tehran as to which countries it should forge friendly relations with. Can we seriously say that the Soviet-Iraqi accord harms the political and economic interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran?

It is clear that regional issues can only be resolved through extensive talks. It is necessary to build bridges between various countries, not to destroy them. The Soviet Union strives to maintain neighborly relations with all the countries of the world, including Iraq. All political intransigence has been shelved and relegated to the past. This is a highlight of contemporary politics that everyone admits.

Soviet cooperation with Iraq is not directed toward other countries. In addition, it is possible that Soviet contacts with Baghdad regarding the attainment of peace may help Iran. If the doors are closed along this path, then other doors which have been opened may culminate in another embroilment.

The Soviet Union, continues to strive in this regard with extensive talks with all the sides involved. Can the Soviet Union thus be berated for indifference and insincerity toward the establishment of durable peace? After all, Moscow is also one of those who compiled UN Security Council Resolution 598, which is the basis and foundation of the establishment of the Iran-Iraq cease-fire.

The Soviet Union consistently remains the supporter of a just solution to the Iran-Iraq conflict, and our stance has been accompanied by categorical diplomatic measures in this regard.

In my opinion, the present Soviet foreign policy is bereft of any moral weak points. Can we malign this policy of forbearance and for being able to understand other parties and for seeking common points with other countries? On one occasion Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev said that Iran is a very cherished partner for us and this, of course, is true.

Thus, does it behoove us to disseminate thoughtless accusations and mar our relations?

Commentary on Iran-Iraq Peace Efforts

NC2911112889 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 28 Nov 89

[(Anatoliy Shostakov) commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners, Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Manuchehr Mottaki met with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Moscow. During the talks they disscussed the outlook for a solution to the Iran-Iraq problem.

As reported during a brief news conference at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's press center, Manuchehr Mottaki's visit to Moscow was within the framework of deliberations on a solution to the Iran-Iraq conflict. The Iranian representative conveyed a private message from Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati. Thus, Tehran began preparing for the upcoming alternate round of Iran-Iraq peace talks.

We wish to recall that the agreement on resuming these talks was reached in mid-November as a result of mediation efforts by Jan Eliasson, personal envoy of the UN secretary general.

However, despite specific progress in the solution of the Iran-Iraq problem, strong differences continue to exist between Baghdad and Tehran. The issue of acceptable international borders and a differing interpretation of UN Security Council Resolution 598 continue to be the major obstacle in Iran-Iraq relations.

Iran propounds the demand for an immediate withdrawal of all Iraqi Armed Forces from occupied Iranian territory as a priority condition. Iraq basically agrees with this request, but believes that since border conflicts can [word indistinct], other issues should be solved first. Iraq believes that the exchange of POW's, the resumption of free navigation in the Shatt al-'Arab and in the Persian Gulf, and so on, are among these issues.

The two sides have a completely different approach to the Algiers agreement and, as before, they cannot come to terms on border [word indistinct].

The situation is (?like a game). But its victims are not chess pawns but people. As you know, the Iran and Iraq war—resulting in about 1 million victims—was the largest military conflict in the second half of the 20th century. The continuation of the confrontation means a political and economic defeat for both nations. The cease-fire on the Iran-Iraq front has not ended the conflict between the two countries, and the coals of this conflict are still hot. Without a peace agreement acceptable to both sides, these coals may be rekindled.

The Soviet leaders have always assessed the Iran-Iraq war as a meaningless fratricide which is contrary to the interests of the Iranian and Iraqi nations. Today, too, Moscow supports a peaceful, political, and just solution of this conflict. The issue is not only that this stand conforms with the principles of Soviet foreign policy. The emergence of tension near the Soviet Union's southern borders is contrary to our country's interests. Limitations on navigation in the Persian Gulf and the reduction of possibilities for economic cooperation with Iran and Iraq also are contrary to the Soviet Union's interests. Moreover, the U.S. military presence in this region is contrary to the Soviet Union's security interests.

Naturally the search for solutions requires a favorable atmosphere. It is exactly because of this that the Soviet Union is shouldering a delicate task in the search for solutions acceptable to both sides, and has constant contacts with both belligerent sides. This requires both the reduction of the [word indistinct] of tension and of national and religious sentiments on a regional level and the prevention (?acts of vengence), and also requires pursuing a spirit of worldwide cooperation and a policy that conforms with the lofty interests of preserving peace.

Vorontsov Receives Iraqi Envoy 20 Nov

LD2111100489 Moscow TASS in English 0730 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS—Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov received Iraqi Ambassador to the USSR Ghafil Jasmin Husayn [name as received] on Monday.

After discussing a number of topical issues of Soviet-Iraqi relations, the sides expressed satisfaction with their progressive development and showed their interest in deepening mutually beneficial cooperation between the USSR and Iraq.

They also discussed the situation in the region.

India's Gandhi, Government Resign

LD2911065889 Moscow TASS in English 0656 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] New Delhi November 29 TASS—India's Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi today presented his government's resignation to President Ramasvami Venkataraman. The step was made when it became clear that the Indian National Congress (I) did not win a majority in

last week's general elections, although it will have the biggest faction in parliament.

The president asked the prime minister to continue to attend to his duties until an alternative government is formed.

1990 Soviet-Indian Trade Protocol Signed

PM2911153589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Nov 89 First Edition p 4

[Own correspondent I. Sharov report: "Balance in India's Favor"]

[Text] Delhi, 27 Nov—The USSR comes second in the total volume of India's turnover with other countries. Trade with our country now amounts to 50 billion rupees, a substantial figure, and it is pleasing that it is constantly growing. A new protocol on trade turnover between the two countries for next year has just been signed. It envisages a significant growth in each side's exports. We will get a large number of consumer goods from India.

In the new agreement a lot of attention is given to the development of transportation links and the technical reequipping of ports and storage facilities. The timely delivery of imported and exported goods without losses must become a firm rule in the practice of bilateral ties. But the fact should also be noted that the trade balance is now in favor of the Indian side and this trend is increasing. How should it be evened out? The question is still awaiting a solution.

Biryukova Receives Indian Ambassador

PM2311100589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Nov 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Reception of Indian Ambassador"]

[Text] On 21 November A.P. Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received A.S. Gonsalves, Indian ambassador to the USSR.

There was a discussion of questions of the further expansion of Soviet-Indian trade and economic cooperation, including the creation of joint ventures and the development of sharing in the field of consumer goods production.

The talk took place in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

Vorontsov Discusses 1986 Delhi Declaration

LD2711034889 Moscow TASS in English 1625 GMT 26 Nov 89

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—A Soviet-Indian "Delhi Declaration on Principles for a Nuclear Weapon-Free and Nonviolent World" was signed in the capital of India three years ago. On November 27, 1986.

Time that has passed since has highlighted the immense importance of the document which determined ways for solving the problems facing mankind.

The document clearly sets out principles for new political thinking in the nuclear age, Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR, said in an interview given today to TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev.

The Delhi declaration emphasies that at a time when nuclear weapons threaten to destroy not only everything that has been created by man over centuries but the very life on earth, it is essential to change the established world situation and to build a world free from nuclear weapons, from violence and hatred, from fear and suspiciousness, Vorontsov said.

The declaration also sets out principles for building a nuclear weapon-free and nonviolent world. The declaration signed in Delhi was the result of versatile cooperation between the Soviet Union and India.

"It embodies the policy of humanism and of striving for the freedom of the human being, for peace and friendship among nations proclaimed by the October Revolution 72 years ago, and the nonviolent policy and philosophy traditional for India, combining the wisdom and experience of our two great peoples," he said.

The development of the international situation over the three years that have passed since the declaration was signed confirms that the course set out in it is the right one and yields positive results. Other countries pay increasing attention to the universal provisions of the declaration, Vorontsov said.

India's contribution to the implementation of the principles of the Delhi declaration is immense, he added. This is illustrated in particular by the long-term programme it suggested at the United Nations in 1988.

The purpose of the programme is to establish a world order free from nuclear weapons and based on nonviolence. India called for signing an international convention to outlaw the threat of use or the use of nuclear wepaons. The Soviet Union fully shares this call, since the idea of such a convention was put forward in the historic Delhi declaration.

It is perfectly evident that the process of improving the international atmosphere would be expedited if regional conflicts are settled and the 'hot spots' in the world are eliminated," Vorontsov said.

The Delhi declaration points out that the right of every people and every person to life, freedom, and peace and the pursuit of happiness should be recognised.

The Soviet Union in its policy strives to proceed from this postulate. It will take measures to secure that all contentious problems are resolved through negotiations. This fully applies not only to Afghanistan—since both the Soviet Union and India make every effort to bring about an end to the bloodshed in that country—but also to a settlement of other armed conflicts in the world.

The Soviet Union and India, in the spirit of the Delhi declaration, raise the question of cooperation between countries in the creation of optimum international conditions to ensure the basic rights and freedoms of the individual everywhere, to democratise domestic life and to establish trust and accord on this basis.

The basic political, social, economic and cultural rights of the individual should be ensured on the basis of universally recognised international covenants.

The Delhi declaration and its principles are an important instrument in the peoples' work for the survival of humanity, for international cooperation under conditions of peace, for the equality of peoples, mutual understanding and mutual assistance.

"As the date of the Delhi declaration signing ceremony recedes into the past, we become increasingly convinced that thereby a historic charter illumining the way towards a peaceful future for the whole of mankind was created," Vorontsov said.

Arabs Seen Trailing Israel in Lobbying Efforts

TA2811184189 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1600 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Commentary by Middle East specialist Dr (Shamih Sultanov)]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] In my opinion, we are currently witnessing the transition of relations between socialist countries and the Arab world into a substantially new stage. [passage omitted]

As for our relations with Arab countries in the new era, we give explicit priority to economic ties with them. It will be noted in this context that both the Arabs and the Soviet Union are interested in a more comprehensive integration in the international market. The fact that both are the world's most important oil exporters provides another opportunity for cooperation.

The efficiency of the economic ties depends on two factors: first, on whether the Arab countries and the socialist world will develop a strategic plan for economic relations that does not depend on political circumstances, and the second factor concerns the need to reorganize economic cooperation on all levels.

In this new stage of relations between the socialist and the Arab world, a special role is assigned to what the Soviets term popular diplomacy, that is, the establishment of political, social, professional, cultural, and other relations on the level of public movements and organizations. History shows that from a general strategic viewpoint, such relations are even more efficient than official diplomatic ties.

It is no coincidence that even prior to resuming diplomatic relations with the socialist countries, the state of Israel is encouraging all contacts on the level of public organizations, commercial institutions, and other similar bodies. Moreover, Israel has rich experience in conducting such cooperation with foreign countries.

It will be noted that popular diplomacy has another facet: In the increasing political pluralism in socialist countries, Zionist and pro-Zionist organizations openly defending Israel's Middle East policy and explaining it to the socialist world's public are being established. These are the first nuclei of a pro-Israeli lobby, which even at this date exerts tangible influence on public opinion, and in a certain way, probably on the administration.

The Arabs are lagging behind the state of Israel. As far as I can see, they have no noteworthy strategy, except for more talk.

Lebanese Envoy on Independence Anniversary

LD2311110789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Nov 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Announcer] Taking part in our program is Mahmud Hamud, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Lebanese Republic to the USSR.

[Begin Hamud recording in vernacular, with superimposed Russian translation] Dear Soviet friends, Lebanese men and women: In celebrating the anniversary of the independence of Lebanon this year, we turn to the homeland, to the future national accord, to the constitutional institutions, to the memory of the president of Lebanon, Rene Mu'awwad, who did everything to strengthen independence and sovereignty and to preserve the integrity of the territory, people and institutions, and for national accord.

Today, all Lebanese are called upon to join in the process of peace and construction, to put an end to violence and dislocation, to cease having recourse to weapons. The right of the people of Lebanon is to have their right to life restored. The right of the people of Lebanon is the right to live in a secure and free world.

Lebanon has many problems, but the most important of these is the elimination of the Israeli occupation in the south of Lebanon on the basis of implementing the UN Security Council resolution and the cessation of aggression on the territory of Lebanon. A stable situation in Lebanon now would be impossible without the help of the Tripartite Higher Committee, which prepared the meeting of Lebanese parliamentary deputies in Al-Ta'if and facilitated the reaching of an understanding there.

There was also the international support for this agreement, which we consider the start of a period of security and stability in Lebanon and the start of a return to normal life. In this connection we must emphasize the position of the USSR, particularly the position of President Mikhail Gorbachev, and their support for the unity of Lebanon, its sovereignty and independence, and national accord among all the sons of Lebanon. And today we say words of gratitude to the Soviet Union from the whole of Lebanon, which has suffered from war and highly appraises the efforts of the USSR and the initiatives of President Gorbachev that have led to the creation of a climate of international accord in the world. They are consistently aimed at reducing the arms race and its final elimination in order to give mankind the opportunity to live firmly in peace and security.

Dear Soviet friends, Lebanon is sincerely striving for the development of the existing relations with the USSR in various spheres and fields. I wish the Soviet Union and its leadership success in their noble mission aimed at perestroyka on the basis of democracy and openness. Thank you for your attention. [end recording]

Qatar Envoy Presents Credentials to Lukyanov

PM2211144189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Nov 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Credentials Presented"]

[Text] On 21 November in the Kremlin Fahd al-Khatir, Qatari ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, presented his credentials to A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

We are seeking to establish firm relations based on mutual trust and respect and to set up fruitful cooperation in all important fields for the benefit of our countries, the ambassador said. Qatar shares the Soviet Union's natural desire for peace and assesses at its worth the positive stance the Soviet Union adopts with regard to problems of vital importance to the Arabs, especially its support for the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people.

Accepting the credentials on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and its chairman, A.I. Lukyanov noted that our approach toward the problems of the Arab world is determined by the need to normalize the situation in that region, defend the legitimate interests of the peoples inhabiting it, and create favorable prerequisites for the development of relations between the USSR and the Arab states. Proceeding from this premise, we resolutely advocate a most speedy and just settlement of the conflict in the Near East through the convening of an international conference with the participation of all interested sides. We consider an important aim of our foreign policy to be ensuring lasting peace and stability in the Persian Gulf zone.

Note was taken of the Soviet Union's readiness to develop all-around mutually advantageous relations with the State of Qatar and to cooperate constructively for the sake of preserving peace and unblocking conflict situations.

After the presentation of credentials a friendly talk took place between A.I. Lukyanov and F. al-Khatir.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Namibian Assembly, S. African Pullout Viewed

MB2311092589 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Igor Patovskiy commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] The good information coming in from Namibia is no news anymore, but still it is too unusual to stay unnoticed, especially as this information is arriving in such great amounts as was the case in the last 2 days.

The Constituent Assembly has gone into session, and we can see that hostility has evidently given way to mutual applause and concord between SWAPO and practically every other party on the main issues of the future Namibian constitution.

And, on this background, the completion of the pullout of the South African forces is being received with an evident and overriding satisfaction.

Nevertheless, the last 2 days have not seen the lessening of the problems of contradictions in Namibia. The Constituent Assembly has not adopted any new decisions so far, which is only natural.

The withdrawal of the South African troops that, for quite a long time, had been massed at bases controlled by the United Nations, does not change the situation in principle either. But this is not important at the present moment. What is important is the fact that the actions of each side directly evolved into the settlement process in Namibia. However, the lesson to be learned is well understood. Each side is well aware that even the most insignificant attempt to gain advantages for itself to the detriment of the compromise may lead to negative reaction in response.

The South African Government can picture the reaction of the world community—the United States and Great Britain, first of all—to any obstacles it could place in the way of bringing the independence of Namibia closer. That is why the South African Army spokesman himself declared that the occupation of the Namibian territory is coming to an end.

SWAPO evidently no less clearly realizes its own possibility in the situation that has shaped out. That's why, contrary to expectations of many analysts, instead of seeking to set up a one-party state, SWAPO proposed to take the principles worked out in 1982 as a basis for the

constitution. This was met with applause by all the members of the Constituent Assembly.

These principles envisage the adoption of a code of the main human rights and the formation of a unitarian state, whose constitution would seal democracy on a multiparty basis.

It stands to reason that these are just the first steps, and it would be wrong to become euphoric.

But, what is important is the fact that it is this way of a settlement that is promising to bringing compliance with the interests of every participant in the Namibian process to the maximum.

Commentary Views Namibia's Economic Future

MB2911101589 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Commentary by Soviet economist (Ena Chekasova)—read by announcer]

[Text] According to the United Nations plan, Namibia proclaims its independence next April. That already raises the issue of that country's place in the economic system of the south of Africa.

Genuine independence for a country is impossible without economic independence. The trade and economic relations of Namibia are wholly oriented to South Africa and the West. The young state will have a difficult problem defending its economic interests, seeing that it lacks anything like considerable financial resources of its own. The world community has promised Namibia assistance, but it is doubtful that such assistance would serve as the decisive factor.

Where should Namibia seek a way out? Perhaps she should nationalize private property. There have been such instances in the history of the African states, and they all ended up, if not in the collapse of their budding economies, at least in protracted crises. Hence the program adopted by the South-West African People's Organization [SWAPO]—the party that won the election to the constituent assembly—does not rule out collaboration with foreign capital.

In general, we must say that the document and the [words indistinct] upon economic matters takes a fairly sensible approach to the current state of economic affairs and prospects of their development. For instance, SWAPO views the mining industry as the main source for financing the country's economic development. Special mention is made of the fact that this industry will not be nationalized. SWAPO hopes to set up a partnership with the corporation, but at the same time it plans to establish control over their operations and profits and to introduce a harsher system of taxes. This is quite fair, as corporations enjoyed privileges and pocketing profits.

The SWAPO program also requires that the corporations invest part of their profits in developing coal, gas, and gold mines. The realism of the program is backed up by the fact that there is no panic whatsoever in the business community over Namibia's approaching independence. Neither has the flight of capital been observed. Quite the contrary. Branch offices of various corporations have been set up and registered as local companies.

SWAPO devotes considerable attention in its program to an agrarian reform that has nothing to do with nationalization either. In order to fairly redistribute the land, the authorities intend to procure part of the land from foreign and local landowners and to distribute it among the poor Namibian peasantry. Incidentally, these problems were raised and decided on in 1988 in Stockholm, when SWAPO representatives met with a delegation of white farmers.

Experience of many African countries that have acquired independence shows that genuine economic independence is not promoted by hasty breaking up of economic relations that took ages to shape, but by the building of a strong financial and economic foundation. This (?must) depend on many factors, including the utilization of existing ties, even though such ties served the purpose of exploitation until quite recently. Probably, to a point, certain items of the SWAPO program should be regarded as farsighted and promising, especially in the plan that speaks of the need for Namibia to participate in the Southern African Development Coordination Conference, but that is a subject for our next talk.

UN Resolutions on South Africa Viewed

MB2611103089 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Commentary by Vladimir Valentinov—read by announcer]

[Text] The UN General Assembly has adopted a number of resolutions on the South African Government's apartheid policy. Vladimir Valentinov comments.

The resolutions were adopted after a thorough discussion of the situation in South Africa. The situation remains complicated and controversial. A whole range of problems that apartheid has brought millions of South Africans face to face with remain unsolved. The world community is showing alarming concern about continuing repressions for most of the population. This is reported in one of the General Assembly resolutions. This resolution criticizes the South African authorities for maintaining the state of emergency. This is supposedly to help normalize the situation in the country, but it is in fact an instrument and justification of brutality towards all those objecting to apartheid.

Representatives of the international community have voiced their full support of the South African national liberation movements and demanded releasing of all political prisoners unconditionally. The General Assembly delegates called special attention to the violations by some of the UN member countries of decisions

concerning South Africa—for example, the Israeli, Chilean and West German violation of mandatory embargoes on weapons shipments.

As usual, mandatory sanctions against the apartheid regime proved a stumbling block. Delegates then called for ending investment in the South African economy and decreeing an embargo on delivering of [word indistinct]. The great majority of the UN countries believe they should have abolished apartheid, but some of the Western nations disagreed. They objected to comprehensive and mandatory sanctions as not expedient, thus showing lack of a wish to do away with apartheid. It is enough to have a quick look at the resolutions to understand how seriously and constructively the General Assembly session takes the problems that South Africa is facing.

True, these problems have always commanded world public attention, but never before has a whole package of resolutions been adopted to bring the problems together. The United Nations has in this way responded to the change in the general political situation in southern Africa.

Supreme Soviet Group Visits Djibouti, Ethiopia

Received by Djibouti President

PM2711155989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting With President"]

[Text] Djibouti, 24 Nov—Djibouti President Hasan Gouled Aptidon has received the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by M.R. Sagdiyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which is paying an official visit here at the invitation of this country's National Assembly. The Soviet delegation briefed the Djibouti president on the progress of perestroyka in the Soviet Union, the processes of democratization and political reform in our country, the structure and activity of the Supreme Soviet, and the work of the current session of the Soviet parliament and its decisions.

The Djibouti president welcomed the perestroyka processes taking place in the USSR and the constructive approaches to the resolution of foreign policy tasks based on the new political thinking. The Soviet delegation head expressed satisfaction at the friendly nature of USSR-Djibouti relations and the level of mutual understanding between the two countries on highly important international problems.

The delegation was received by Djibouti Prime Minister Barkat Gourad Hamadou, Moumin Bahdon Farah, minister of foreign affairs and cooperation, and Abdukader Waberi Askar, chairman of the National Assembly.

The members of the Soviet delegation attended the opening of the latest session of the country's parliament and were familiarized with the work of the capital's maritime port and certain food industry enterprises.

The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation left for Moscow today. It was seen off at the airport by Abdukader Waberi Askar, chairman of the National Assembly, and other officials.

Returns to Moscow

PM2811113989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Return to Moscow"]

[Text] A USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by M.R. Sagdiyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, has returned to Moscow. It had been paying official visits to Ethiopia and Djibouti at the invitation of those countries' parliaments.

Soviet Africanists Meeting Rejects 'Stereotypes'

PM2311152789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[M. Zenovich report: "In a Creative and Interested Fashion"]

[Text] The Fifth All-Union Conference of Africanists has completed its work in Moscow. Its more than 300 participants from 70 scientific centers and educational establishments in our country, along with foreign researchers, exchanged opinions on a broad spectrum of African problems. The debate was based on the concept of the new political thinking and its emphasis on the priority of general human values in our nuclear age and freedom of choice, which presupposes recognition of the universal nature of the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries and peoples, international responsibility for environmental conservation, and comprehensive consideration of the human factor.

Acknowledging that stagnation in social sciences also had an adverse effect on African studies, the conference participants devoted considerable attention to revising the accumulated stereotypes that prevented awareness of the specific nature of African civilization and the clear determination of formation processes on the continent.

Every aspect of the problem of Soviet-African relations and the interaction of perestroyka and new approaches to the study of Africa was subjected to special discussion. Despite some Soviet people's ideas about the "inadvisability" and even "futility" of economic cooperation between the USSR and African countries, it was shown that this cooperation is indeed beneficial and has great untapped reserves.

The conference participants created an action group that has been tasked with forming an association of Soviet Africanists over the next few months. It is a question of making more effective use of intellectual potential in this sphere of social science.

Shevardnadze Signs Envoy to Tanzania's Obituary

PM2411114589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Obituary of Andrey Grigoryevich Fialkovskiy]

[Excerpts] On 16 November A.I. Fialkovskiy, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the United Republic of Tanzania, died in an automobile accident while carrying out his official duties. A good and sincere man, a principled Communist, a highly professional diplomat, and a good comrade has departed this life.

A.I. Fialkovskiy was born in Moscow in 1933. [passage omitted]

[Signed] E.A. Shevardnadze, A.A. Bessmertnykh, Yu.M. Vorontsov, A.G. Kovalev, I.P. Aboimov, A.L. Adamishin, V.P. Karpov, V.G. Komplektov, V.M. Nikiforov, V.F. Petrovskiy, I.A. Rogachev, B.N. Chaplin, V.M. Vasev, G.I. Gerasimov, I.S. Ivanov, S.P. Tarasenko, V.P. Terekhov, O.V. Bostorin, Yu.A. Yukalov, V.I. Dolgov.

New Ambassador to Congo Appointed

PM2411115589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Unattributed report: "News Item"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Comrade Anatoliy Safronovich Zaytsev USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Congo.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has relieved Comrade Vladimir Konstantinovich Lobachev of his duties as USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Congo in connection with his retirement on pension.

East Europe

Reportage on Visit by Poland's Mazowiecki

Joint Soviet-Polish Communique

PM2811140989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Nov 89 Second Edition p 4

["Soviet-Polish Communique"]

[Text] At the Soviet Government's invitation, T. Mazowiecki, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, paid an official visit to the Soviet Union from 23 to 27 November 1989.

M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet chairman, received T. Mazowiecki and held a conversation with him.

N.I. Ryzhkov, USSR Council of Ministers chairman, and T. Mazowiecki had thorough talks during which the sides discussed the processes taking place in the two countries, discussed a wide range of questions of Soviet-Polish relations, and exchanged opinions on key international problems.

N.I. Ryzhkov described in detail the characteristics of the present stage of perestroyka in the USSR; the transformations in the political, economic, and social spheres; the development of democratization and glasnost; and the measures to strengthen socialist legality and law and order. The great significance of the CPSU Central Committee September (1989) Plenum for normalizing interethnic relations and improving the foundations of the Soviet federation was stressed.

In his briefing on the situation in his country, T. Mazowiecki stressed that his government represents the main social circles and a broad coalition of political forces operating in Poland's pluralist society. He noted that Poland is now carrying out deep reforms in the political, social, and economic spheres. Efforts are being made to improve the health of the state's financial system and transfer the economy to a market footing. In the context of these changes, the Polish side attaches great significance to the development of all-around cooperation with the Soviet Union, particularly in the economic sphere, which will help to overcome the difficulties existing in Poland.

T. Mazowiecki stressed that the new political situation in Poland, the broad public support for the government, creates real opportunities to ensure that Soviet-Polish relations rest on a broad social basis.

N.I. Ryzhkov noted that the Polish Government's efforts to make Poland an economically strong, democratic state receive support in the Soviet Union.

The main thrust of the talks was occupied by questions of Soviet-Polish relations, which rest on a truly broad social base, and their continuity. The importance of inviolable good-neighborly Soviet-Polish relations based on the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance signed in 1945 and renewed in 1965 and their significance and influence on the all-European process were stressed. The treaty between the USSR and Poland is a weighty factor in peace and security in Europe. The Soviet Union and Poland firmly intend to continue to build their alliance relations on the principles of mutual trust, respect for the freedom of sociopolitical choice, full equality of rights, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs. They are fully determined to promote the development of good-neighborly and alliance relations between the two countries on the basis of the new political thinking.

The talks confirmed the sides' mutual interest in developing intergovernmental ties and stepping up cooperation in the sphere of culture, science, and public education.

For the purpose of examining certain questions relating to the cultural legacy, the sides agreed to create a

bilateral commission with the participation of representatives of the two countries' academies of sciences, culture ministries, and other departments and organizations, and also interested union republics of the USSR.

The governments will promote and create the necessary conditions for the expansion of direct contacts between citizens of the two states and the development of exchanges in the sphere of social, creative, youth, and other organizations. For these purposes they will take measures to simplify the procedure for private travel and improve the work of transportation, communications, and the customs service.

The sides will create favorable conditions for developing the national identity of people of Polish nationality living in the USSR and for ethnic groups of the peoples of the USSR living in Poland. The mutual intention to give them all-round help in their activity, in preserving their native language, in creating cultural education societies, and in satisfying religious needs was expressed.

N.I. Ryzhkov and T. Mazowiecki paid great attention to improving Soviet-Polish economic relations and to increasing their effectiveness. The sides confirmed their common interest in profound perestroyka of the mechanism of Soviet-Polish economic relations to bring them more into line with world market conditions and create opportunities for a gradual transfer to payments in freely convertible currency based on world prices. The sides agreed to form a joint working group to prepare proposals on this question. They will help to ensure favorable conditions for the development of direct ties between enterprises and other organizations in the USSR and Poland. The heads of government expressed the conviction that perestroyka in the USSR and the profound transformations taking place in Poland create the necessary preconditions for the further activation of trade and economic ties.

The sides examined questions connected with coordinating the basic guidelines of the 5-year plan for the development of the USSR's national economy in 1991-95 and the long-term concept of the development of the Polish national economy. In this context they confirmed the need to ensure interlinkage [vzaimouvyazka] between deliveries of fuel and raw materials from the USSR and deliveries of Polish goods of equal economic significance. An accord was reached that the two countries' corresponding ministries and departments will continue the examination of these questions.

In discussing questions of collaboration within the CEMA framework, N.I. Ryzhkov and T. Mazowiecki voiced both countries' intention to make efforts to speed up the process of restructuring the mechanism of multilateral cooperation within the CEMA framework, particularly in the sphere of coordinating economic development and improving currency, financial, and credit relations. Both sides will support other initiatives in this direction. This would make it possible to bring CEMA's activity closer to world market conditions and requirements and to deepen integration links between the CEMA and EEC countries.

The heads of government stressed that the clarification of complex issues in the history of relations between the two countries, above all the problem of Katyn, will help free their relations from the negative accretions of the past and strengthen friendship between the Soviet and Polish peoples.

In examining international problems and the principles of relations between states, the government heads confirmed the coincidence of their views on the development of the situation in Europe and the world as a whole. They stated their countries' resolve to strive to strengthen European and world security, to cut armaments, to democratize interstate relations on the basis of the right of states and peoples to self-determination, and also to develop broad international cooperation.

N.I. Ryzhkov and T. Mazowiecki exchanged opinions on the events taking place in European socialist countries. They believe that the natural and historically conditioned processes taking place in those countries fit within the framework of democratization and the exercise of the peoples' right to free choice.

In assessing the progress of East-West dialogue, the heads of government noted with satisfaction that the emergent turn toward overcoming confrontation has created conditions for a qualitatively new, peaceful stage of stable and predictable international development. They are convinced that the meeting at the beginning of December between Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush will be of great significance for the positive development of the situation in the world as a whole.

The Soviet Union and Poland will continue to collaborate closely to promote the dynamic development of the Helsinki process of building a "common European home."

Welcoming the democratic transformations taking place in the GDR, the Soviet and Polish heads of government expressed their conviction that relations between the two German states, based on mutual respect for sovereignty and for the realities prevailing on the continent in the postwar period and on observance of the principle of the inviolability of state borders, are of very great importance for maintaining stability and security in Europe.

The need to further intensify the role of the United Nations in securing the earliest possible negotiated settlement of existing regional conflicts and centers of tension was noted.

Other questions of mutual interest were also touched upon.

An agreement between the Soviet and Polish governments on cooperation in the sphere of environmental protection was signed during the visit.

The talks were held in a businesslike atmosphere. They reflected the will and resolve of the Soviet and Polish peoples to continue to develop and strengthen the relations of friendship and close cooperation between the two countries on the basis of the principles of good-neighborliness, equality of rights, trust, and mutual advantage.

T. Mazowiecki invited N.I. Ryzhkov to pay an official visit to Poland. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

The following took part in the talks:

On the Soviet side—N.P. Laverov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology; S.A. Sitaryan, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations; K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations; I.P. Aboimov, USSR deputy foreign minister; and V.I. Brovikov, Soviet ambassador to Poland;

On the Polish side—J. Ambroziak, minister and head of the Council of Ministers Office; B. Kaminski, minister of environmental protection and natural resources; M. Swiecicki, minister of foreign economic cooperation; J. Osiatynski, minister and head of the Central Office of Planning; A. Hall, minister and member of the Council of Ministers; T. Syryjczyk, minister of industry; B. Kulski, secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry; M. Dabrowski, secretary of state in the Ministry of Finance; S. Ciosek, Polish ambassador to the USSR; A. Drawicz, chairman of the Radio and Television Committee; W. Kuczynski, deputy minister in the Council of Ministers Office and leader of the group of advisers to the prime minister; and M. Niezabitowska, government press spokesman.

Addresses Leningrad Intelligentsia

LD2711234789 Warsaw PAP in English 2024 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Leningrad, Nov. 27—Upon his arrival in Leningrad's "Pulkovo" Airport, Poland's Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki was greeted by Vladimir Hodyriev, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Municipal Council and his deputy Aleksandr Avgieyev who chairs the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society in Leningrad.

Accompanied by a honorary escort of motorcycles, the Polish premier went from the airport to the Monument of the Heroic Defenders of Leningrad. He laid white-and-red flowers at the foot of the monument and in the museum, commemorating the heroic defence during 900 days of blockade by the Nazis.

Mazowiecki next travelled to the Piskaryevskiy Cemetery which is shocking evidence of the martyrdom of Leningrad's residents. In the company of a guard of honour and to the tune of the national anthems of Poland and the Soviet Union, the head of the Polish Government laid a white-and-red wreath and signed the visitors book.

Later on, Mazowiecki met with municipal authorities. He took special interest in upcoming elections to local councils.

As was the case in Moscow, also in Leningrad representatives of the press flocked to interview the first non-communist premier from Eastern Europe. They took interest in the social and political situation in Poland and the future of Polish-Soviet relations.

"People in your country think that it is you who feed us, people in our country on the other hand think that it is you who take everything away from us. Our relations must be put on both feet, must be based on normal trade, "stated Mazowiecki in reply to a question.

A visit to Leningrad's famous Hermitage art gallery was the next point on the agenda of Premier Mazowiecki's visit.

I would like you to know that I do not speak to your leaders in a language that is different from the one in which I speak to you, Tadeusz Mazowiecki told representatives of Leningrad intelligentsia at a meeting here.

I say the same to them: We need a success of your transformations and you need a success of our transformations, he stated. His words, very warmly received by intellectuals from Leningrad, constituted a certain summing up of the five-day official visit to the Soviet Union by the head of the Polish Government.

Earlier the Polish premier said in the Kremlin that Poland did not treat relations with the Soviet Union in a time-serving way and would meet its obligations within the alliance irrespective of what political camp would wield power.

Mazowiecki pointed out to a specific Polish road of gradual and evolutionary changes. Poland is paving the way for some democratic and pluralistic solutions and the way they are introduced does not threaten European stability, he added.

I am of the opinion that it is a valuable experience. There are proper prospects for all political movements in Poland. However, all must think over the role they have played so far and will play in the future.

Mazowiecki appealed to those present not to yield to oversimplified propaganda according to which his government does not properly care for precious social values. The premier said that the values for which advocates of socialism had fought may be realized in various ways. The present government can see all the difficulties which poor people face or will face.

The Polish premier appealed and also encouraged Leningrad intelligentsia to expand ever loser cultural cooperation with Poland.

Leningrad authorities gave a gala reception in honour of Mazowiecki at the end of his stay in the city.

Sakharov Previews Mazoweicki Visit

LD2111000289 Warsaw PAP in English 1853 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov. 20—Shortly before an official visit of Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki to the USSR, PAP's Moscow correspondents asked Professor Andrey Sakharov what message he would like to convey to Poles in connection with this historic event.

Sakharov said: "First of all, I would like to stress that throughout my whole life, problems of Poles were equally close to me as the problems of my own country.

"I think that Poland is ahead of the developments which are taking place in the USSR now. I wish Poland success on the road she has chosen as this does not only determine the fates of your country, although it is the most important thing, but also has its repercussions for the whole camp of socialist countries, also for the USSR.

"It seems to me that the most important thing for Poland now is to overcome her economic problems and to reform the structures of management. I can see that the Polish people have confided in the new government and are ready for some necessary sacrifices typical of the period of transition. Whether the government manages to solve these problems depends on many circumstances. I believe that in her work, Poland will meet with international support. The modernization of industry and agriculture is the crucial issue. It is a very difficult task which cannot be solved immediately, nevertheless a very important one," Sakharov said.

"I am sure that Poland will manage to solve all of her difficulties of the period of transition and that she will develop the spirit of democracy and confidence in the new cabinet which is composed of new people and governed by a new spirit. It is difficult but possible," Sakharov said.

Asked whether Premier Mazowiecki's visit to the Kremlin can be regarded as the official knell of the "Brezhnev Doctrine", Sakharov said:

"I think that as long as perestroyka in the USSR is continued and remains vigorous, despite encountered difficulties, the Brezhnev Doctrine is out of the question. The doctrine was a sign of the fear of the Soviet apparatus, the fear for its own position in the country. Perestroyka and its leaders do not need it, and even find it alien. In my opinion it cannot pose danger neither to Poland nor to Hungary nor to any other country where the progressive changes will take place."

To the question whether the developments taking place in Poland, Hungary, the USSR, the GDR and Bulgaria now, can be regarded as the "springtide of nations" or the decomposition of what used to be described as the "Soviet empire", Sakharov said that these were exceptionally important developments which reflect the mainstream of the historical development.

"In Western Europe, the integration processes tend to deepen now but this proceeds in a democratic way whereas the "Soviet Empire" needs a process of another character and different orientation. Both as regards the situation in the USSR and the USSR's relations with other countries of Eastern Europe, there is a absolute need for changes which would aim simply at freedom and greater autonomy. For me, things that take place in Poland, Hungary now and, the odds are that also in Bulgaria reflect these tendencies," Sakharov said.

While answering another question concerning closer relations between Bucharest-Pyongyang-Beijing, Professor Sakharov said that it was a natural process and consists in rapprochement of related political forces, but still however, filled with terror, Sakharov said.

The fact that the leadership of the USSR, officially did not condemn the tragic events in Beijing last June also arises concern, Sakharov said.

Asked how real is the threat of the military coup d'etat of which he had warned from the rostrum of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Sakharov said that he meant the danger of the introduction of the emergency state in the whole country as the reaction to the developments which were confined to Trancaucasus.

"I think that the introduction of the emergency state is an exceptionally dangerous thing. It would shatter perestroyka, make it impossible to hold democratic elections to the local and republican authorities. This would be a devastating blow in perestroyka and democracy."

"I am not convinced that the army is the force which could initiate the reactionary military coup d'etat. The processes of differentiation will, and actually have already started to, take place," Sakharov said.

Polish Amity Body Scores Attack on Lenin Monument

PM2811171189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report; "Condemning Act of Vandalism"]

[Text] Warsaw, 24 Nov—The Polish-Soviet Friendship Society Main Board has called the desecration of the V.I. Lenin Monument at Nowa Huta near Krakow an insult to the most sacred feelings of the peoples of the USSR.

The Polish-Soviet Friendship Society's statement, circulated by PAP, stresses that this kind of action is directed against the perestroyka of mutual relations which has begun in both countries with emphasis on the principles of full sovereignty, a desire for extensive familiarization with the life of the two peoples and for mutual understanding, as well as the removal of the prejudices that still exist. The processes of the democratization of political and social life taking place in both states cannot at

the same time stand for permissiveness. This particularly concerns excesses which bear the stamp of a low political and human culture, and which must be resolutely condemned by public opinion. The desecration of the Lenin Memorial has become yet another anti-Soviet attack aimed against the basic interests of the Polish people, the document notes.

Reportage on Political Developments in CSSR

IZVESTIYA Views Developments

PM2811170189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent L. Kornilov dispatch: "K. Urbanek: An Honest Policy Is Needed"]

[Text] Prague—Immediately following the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee plenum which ended late at night, Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, went to visit Kladno District's Communist workers at the "Nosek" Mine. A frank conversation on the most diverse topics took place there in the early morning. The general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and the miners reflected on the present, the party's role today and in the future, the situation in the social sphere, and the fact that "we want to pursue an honest, up-front, and frank policy."

He said that he feels the weight of inordinate responsibility, that everyone must now learn how to act in the new conditions, and that he himself is learning, having found himself in the office of general secretary at this most complex time. He answered questions, at times profoundly pensive, as if inviting his interlocutors to join him in reflection.

They asked about many things: Why was the plenum not broadcast live, why was J. Lenart dismissed, what did he think of young people, what was his attitude toward the processes occurring in neighboring socialist countries, and so on. Karel Urbanek announced that he had a scheduled meeting at 0900 with B. Kucera (chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, which is now behaving in what I would describe as an active, militant, and realistic manner—L.K.). He also said this, among other things:

"The CPCZ wants to become a revolutionary party again. I will take no umbrage if some people do not believe me. After all, things like this happen in relations between people—trust is difficult to regain once it has been lost. I like the words I heard somewhere: 'For socialism without mistakes.' Yes, this is exactly how it is necessary to act."

This time the CPCZ Central Committee plenum decisions certainly left a more positive impression on people but, without going on at any length about this, let me say that voices of dissatisfaction can still be heard. Most doubts concern the date for convening the extraordinary party congress. Some Communists—and the television shows this—believe that 26 January is too far into the future at a time of such great urgency. The question is being asked: Why the traditional multi-tier election of delegates? Whereas it might be justified at ordinary times, it is hardly appropriate now. Would it not be more expedient to have delegates directly elected by primary organizations? This is specifically advocated in RUDE PRAVO by Zdenek Sedivy, director of the Institute for National Economic Studies: "In a situation when the party is in danger, it is necessary to make decisions without worrying about formulations in the statutes which could not have foreseen such a situation."

The strike was the main event on 27 November. Millions of people took part. It lasted 2 hours for most collectives and, as already reported, people pledged to make up for this time later. Television carried live broadcasts from different cities. Every now and again, the following text flashed across the screen: "We television workers support the strike. Our coverage is one form of participating in it." Not only plants, factories, and institutions, but also stores, restaurants, and the subway stopped work. Although they declared that they would join the strikers, medical personnel, firemen, bakers, power station personnel, and other similar groups continued their work. The old slogans were there, repeating: "Free Elections." I also saw this one: "An End to the Single-Party Monopoly!" Others demanded consolidation, the triumph of pluralism, and an end to stagnation. One of them was brief: "We'll Endure!"; another one read: "For a Better Tomorrow, for Democracy!"

A "Civic Forum" spokesman declared in Wenceslas Square that the strike movement would end throughout the country as of the afternoon of 27 November, but strike readiness would be maintained.

Meanwhile, the CSSR general prosecutor and the military prosecutor briefed students on the investigation of the dramatic events on 17 November. It is continuing. This is why the culprits have not yet been named. But the initial conclusions have already been drawn: The intervention by police forces was excessive and, furthermore, what happened was a crime and criminal proceedings have been instituted.

A joint session of the CSSR Federal Assembly's two chambers is scheduled for 29 November. (Several deputies publicly expressed a demand to convene an extraordinary session. One of them said: "The Federal Assembly has 139 CPCZ members and only 35 nonparty people like me. This is wrong!")

Prime Minister L. Adamec recommended to CSSR President G. Husak that a decree be promulgated on the further release of political prisoners (several peoples had already been released the day before). The Committee of Church and Religious Figures assembled in Brno for a frank debate on the contemporary domestic political process. The Green Party has formed its coordinating-preparatory committee.

Cadre changes continue. Karel Henes was elected the new chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions. An extraordinary government session appointed a new general director of Czechoslovak Television—Miroslav Pavel, hitherto known to readers and journalists as the government press spokesman. Another item of news from the government session—it has been decided that the just-completed and superbly equipped "Sanops" medical complex, clinic, and hospital (under the Fourth Administration, as people in our country would say) should be handed over to provide diagnostic services and medical treatment for all citizens of Prague and its suburbs. And something else—the dialogue with "Civic Forum" and other social organizations, including students' organizations, will continue. It has also been decided that Czechoslovak citizens will not need exit visas for travel abroad, including travel to capitalist countries, as of 1 January. All they will need will be a passport and, of course, foreign currency. The government will discuss and adopt the relevant measures.

Valter Komarek, corresponding member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and director of the Institute of Forecasting, has become very popular in the last few days, having spoken on television to outline an extensive and impressive action program in the political and economic spheres. He declared in particular that much of what is good in the people's movement nowadays comes from Soviet perestroyka, from M.S. Gorbachev's ideas and actions.

'Stormy' Adamec-Havel Talks Noted

LD2811174389 Moscow TASS in English 1622 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Prague November 28 TASS—Talks were held here today between a delegation of the Central Committee and a delegation of the Civic Forum. The delegations were headed by Ladislav Adamec and Vaclav Havel respectively.

Czechoslovak Government Minister Marian Calfa informed journalists of the results of the talks which were held behind closed doors.

At first the talks were held in a stormy atmosphere and were characterised by divergence of views on a solution to the obtaining situation, he said. However, on the whole the talks were constructive. Their determining feature was a desire to find a positive way out of the current political situation in Czechoslovakia.

It was decided to form a new government before December 3 this year. It will suggest that the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly introduce changes to the country's Constitution concerning three articles—to exclude the provision about the Czechoslovak Communist Party (KSC)'s [CPCZ's] leading role in society, the closed nature of the National Front and the KSC's leading role in that organisation, and the thesis that the education process should be conducted in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

Urbanek Approach Shows 'New Thinking' in CPCZ

PM2911114589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Nov 89 p 3

[Own correspondent Ye. Nefedov dispatch under the general heading: "Spring on the Threshold of Winter"]

[Text] Prague—The whole tense atmosphere reigning in Czechoslovakia these days—extraordinary party plenums, the resignation of leading workers, unimaginably large demonstrations, a general strike, the almost continuous reportages and commentaries by the news media from the scene of events, and many other things—the very essence, idea, and substance of all this is bubbling and seething.

Throughout these past days there has not been a single violation of public order, and there has been a minimal presence or even a total absence of security services representatives. And all this, despite the fact that three-fourths of the demonstrators are young people, students, and even teenage schoolchildren. A debate is taking place on television and in the press: Should there be children in the ranks of demonstrators? On the one hand, it would seem not, because that is their parents' place instead. But, on the other hand, these kids are already members of the Socialist Youth Union, and it was that body that openly, loudly, and resolutely advocated at its last conference a radical restructuring which no longer brooks delay. Particularly striking is the students' cohesion, their political maturity, and their ability to persuade and to lead many representatives of the intelligentsia, the working class, and the peasantry and their contemporaries serving in the Army or the organs of law and order.

This novelty is a manifestation of the new policy and the new thinking of the just-elected leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee and of Karel Urbanek, its general secretary, who has already addressed the people repeatedly in recent days. Not all the representatives of the new leadership satisfy the wishes and tastes of the strikers. But you cannot change in a single hour a structure which took years to evolve—which is why the extraordinary CPCZ Central Committee plenum just ended decided to convene an extraordinary CPCZ congress.

Both at rallies and around the table the premier is debating with the leaders of the new "Civic Forum" organization. Political figures lately in the wilderness are getting the opportunity to speak openly, and yesterday's dissidents have been released and are speaking from rostrums. They have different views on what is happening, and they preach different theories of the renewal of life in the country: Some ardently support the idea of "socialism with a human face [litso]," others are still standing at the crossroads, while yet others hold up prewar bourgeois Czechoslovakia as a model.

A mass rally attended by approximately half a million people was held in Prague's Letenska Square Sunday. It was addressed mainly by representatives of opposition organizations—"Civic Forum" and "Rebirth"—and by speakers supporting them.

Addressing the rally, Alexander Dubcek declared that reformers expelled from the CPCZ have joined the mass movement. He called for a revised assessment of the 1968 events in Czechoslovakia.

On various pretexts the rally organizers did not give access to the microphones there to representatives of CPCZ party organizations, thereby violating the principle of dialogue for which they themselves are constantly calling.

A 2-hour strike was held at many of the country's enterprises yesterday afternoon.

Gorbachev Greets Urbanek on Election

PM2811160489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Nov 89 Second Edition p 1

[Message from M. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee: "To Comrade Karel Urbanek, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) Central Committee"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Urbanek!

Please accept congratulations on your election as general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

We wish the Czechoslovak Communists, in alliance with all who value the ideals of socialism and democracy, success in perestroyka and in the resolution of pressing problems of society's socioeconomic development and renewal.

With comradely greetings

M. Gorbachev,
General secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Krenz Comments on German Reunification

LD2811184889 Moscow TASS in English 1729 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin November 28 TASS—The current talks between the German Democratic Republic and West Germany are dominated by ways of increasing the responsibility of both German states for the cause of peace, mutual cooperation and the strengthening of good-neighbourly relations, rather than the reunification issue. This was confirmed by Egon Krenz, leader of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, during his meeting with leader of the German Communist Party Herbert Mies.

The 200,000-strong public rally in Leipzig categorically rejected all reunification calls. The speakers pointed to the danger from plans to make the GDR part of West Germany which arouse the concern of neighbouring countries.

Krenz spoke for the existence of one German nation but two German states.

Aboimov Receives Krenz Message to Gorbachev

LD2811134389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1235 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, 28 Nov (TASS)—USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Aboimov today received Gerd Koenig, GDR ambassador to the USSR, who handed over a message to Mikhail Gorbachev from Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State.

New Editor of GDR's JUNGE WELT Interviewed

PM2811173189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 89 p 1

[Interview in Berlin with Jens Koenig, chief editor of the GDR newspaper JUNGE WELT, by own correspondent S. Maslov: "People Are Not Born Chief Editors. This Is the Belief of Jens Koenig, New Chief Editor of JUNGE WELT, the GDR's Most Mass Newspaper. How Does He Picture the Role of the Country's Youth Press Today?"; date not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Jens Koenig, the new chief editor of JUNGE WELT, the GDR's most mass newspaper, is only 25 years old. How does he picture the role of the country's youth press under today's conditions? Jens Koenig reflects on this in conversation with S. Maslov, our Berlin correspondent.

[Maslov] Jens, JUNGE WELT is probably the first GDR newspaper to acquire a new face. Its features had appeared clearly even before the turning point in the country's life. The impression was being formed that the newspaper had received a "credit of confidence" from its readers. And suddenly an almost complete renewal of the composition of the main editorial board occurred this week. What brought this about?

[Koenig] This was considered necessary not only by the newspaper's young staffers but also by the members of the former main editorial board themselves, headed by Hans-Dieter Schuett.

Indeed, even before the start of the social changes we had begun publishing materials that awakened hope in people. Many letters have been received, in which our readers say that what JUNGE WELT's journalists did during the 4 weeks preceding Honecker's departure gave them courage. On the other hand, JUNGE WELT, as the organ of the Free German Youth [FDJ] Central Council, bears full responsibility for the obsolete former policy of the youth league, which finds itself in a critical situation

today. Therefore, from our viewpoint, it was necessary not just to start afresh but precisely with new ideas and with new people who would enjoy the readers' confidence.

[Maslov] The GDR has embarked on a path of renewal and democratization. But how democratic has the renewal of the editorial board's leadership been?

[Koenig] Like the other members of the new main editorial board, I was appointed to my post by the FDJ Central Council. But, before embarking on our work, in the editorial office we raised the question of confidence. As long ago as last week we held a meeting of editorial office staffers, at which all the previous work was analyzed in detail and urgent tasks were discussed. All the "pros" and "cons" of the leadership's renewal were weighed there, and the need for it was substantiated. Another meeting was held last Monday, when the question of confidence was decided by an open ballot. More than 90 percent of staffers gave us their support. And only after this did the official appointments follow.

[Maslov] In your first editorial article as chief editor you wrote about the determination of the JUNGE WELT collective to produce a new newspaper. In what, in your view, should its newness find expression?

[Koenig] What is new consists, above all, in the very approach to youth problems. Outside the editorial framework this question also concerns the entire FDJ as a whole. Although our league declared that it represents the interests of all young people—and this was enshrined in its statutes—at the same time another postulate was advanced: The FDJ is the assistant and combat reserve of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. This principle failed to stand the test of time. FDJ policy did not accord with the aspirations of many young people who began being politically active not at all under the flag of the FDJ. Youth leagues of Christian democrats and liberal democrats have emerged. And youth organizations of other political parties will evidently be created. Quite independent action groups already exist, like ecological ones, for example. Student councils are virtually operating outside the FDJ framework today. So the essence of the editorial board's new position is that the newspaper should represent the interests of all sections of young people not in words but in deeds. And this is the new concept of the FDJ, which, it may be said, will be refounded.

JUNGE WELT will adhere to three main principles: to have a democratic, antifascist, socialist thrust. As regards socialism and the understanding of it, in my view it must mean not only that there are no unemployed or homeless people. It is inseparably linked with broad democracy, with the people's freedom of expression, with according them the opportunity themselves to determine their future. What the people want and do not want must not be decided up above.

To what has been said I can add that democracy demands of us relentless glasnost.

[Maslov] It is no secret that until recently JUNGE WELT's readers received rather scant information on the processes occurring in the Soviet Union. Our life was portrayed in a somewhat distorted light, and problems were selected superficially. I believe, however, that Kholger Rayshok [name as transliterated], the newspaper's Moscow correspondent, with whom we have long been acquainted, cannot be blamed for this. Is it possible to hope that the USSR will cease to be an "uninteresting country" in the eyes of the editorial board?

[Koenig] The Soviet Union has never been an uninteresting country. As for information policy with regard to the USSR, everyone now acknowledges that one of the SED's chief mistakes was its total failure to recognize the policy of perestroyka and glasnost and to understand their significance for socialism as a whole, as a new historic opportunity in its development. I have always held the opposite opinion. I have spoken of this openly in the editorial office. I did not conceal my belief that the banning of SPUTNIK was a mistake. I disagreed with the negative assessments that Hans-Dieter Schuett made in his review of the movie "Repentance." In the future we will, of course, devote more attention and space to life in the USSR. Some things have already been done in this direction. We have published materials that simply could not have appeared before. Speaking of Kholger Rayshok, he undoubtedly is not to blame before the reader, from whom much was concealed.

[Maslov] My final question is of a personal nature. You worked for 2 years as a rank-and-file correspondent in the news and international politics department. You have skipped many rungs of the official ladder and suddenly found yourself leader of a large collective. This happens to far from everyone at your age. I wish to ask you: Is it easy to be young—as chief editor of the country's most widely read newspaper?

[Koenig] Honestly speaking, I have not yet had time to think about this. Of course, there will be difficulties. Regardless of age. But in a certain and, probably, a decisive sense it is easier for me than for older colleagues. It is easier to stop myself thinking in old terms. Not that it can be said that I was greatly "infected" with that thinking. I do not fear the new.

Bulgarian Politburo Discusses 'Radical Reforms'

LD2811121489 Moscow TASS in English 1015 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia November 28 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Chupakhin:

Recent senior party leaders' meetings with Bulgarian workers are a vivid sign of the Communist Party's moral strength and political maturity and its readiness to lead socialist renewal in Bulgaria, according to the latest meeting of the Bulgarian Communist Party Politburo.

The meetings were frank and revealed widespread support of ongoing radical reforms, it was noted.

Participants in the meetings stressed that the country does not need rallies and declarations, but practical work to promote reforms. Communists and workers called for a stabilised economy, stronger discipline, a more balanced consumer market, greater democracy, legality and social justice.

They expressed concern over self-interested attempts to capitalise on the new situation that impede social renewal.

There were calls for further unity in socialist society and to strengthen the party and purge it of compromised members.

The Bulgarian Politburo stressed that regular contacts between party officials and the public will be held.

The Politburo discussed proposals to change and simplify the protocol procedures for meetings with party and state leaders.

It decided against placing portraits of living leaders in party committees.

The Politburo recommended that the Bulgarian Communist Party's parliamentary group propose at the next session of the National Assembly not to place leader's portraits in state offices and other public places.

In a move to shift money to social programmes, it proposed to abolish the former practice of using large sums of money on meetings with diplomatic representatives in different Bulgarian cities.

Vorotnikov Returns to Moscow After RCP Reception

PM2811121989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Reception Held"]

[Text] The Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Central Committee organized a reception on 24 November on the occasion of the conclusion of the party congress' work.

Present at the reception were congress delegates, members of the newly elected RCP Central Committee, and foreign guests, including a CPSU delegation headed by V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium.

On the same day the CPSU delegation headed by V.I. Vorotnikov went home. It was seen off at the airport by M. Dobrescu, member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee and chairman of the Romanian General Union of Trade Unions Central Council, and other officials. Among those seeing off the delegation was B.M. Tyazhelnikov, USSR ambassador in Romania.

In the evening, V.I. Vorotnikov returned to Moscow. I. Bucur, Romanian ambassador in the USSR, was among those meeting him.

'Normal Relations' With Albania Urged

PM2811163989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Nov 89 First Edition p 4

[N. Yurchenko article: "People's Albania Is 45 Years Old"]

[Text] A portentous date in the history of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania [PSRA] falls on 29 November, the 45th anniversary of the country's liberation from the fascist occupiers and of the victory of the people's revolution.

With what has the PSRA arrived at its jubilee? When examining the path traveled by the Albanian people during the time the republic has existed, you must bear in mind that the people's democratic revolution was accomplished in a country with deep-rooted survivals of feudalism and an almost totally illiterate population, in a country ravaged by war and the corruption of the former monarchic regime. It took years of stubborn labor to change the country's appearance.

By the mid-fifties Albania had already become an agrarian-industrial country. The foundations had been laid for its further industrialization and the development of agriculture along cooperative lines. Substantial progress had also been made in the spheres of education, science, and culture and in enhancing the working people's material well-being. In this way, as the Fourth Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Congress (February 1961) stated, "the possibility of backward countries making the transition to socialism, bypassing the stage of developed capitalism," was confirmed in the example of Albania.

Albania's all-around cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries was a favorable external factor that helped to realize the tasks of the socialist reordering of society in Albania. The shortage of financial and material resources of its own and of skilled cadres and the other difficulties that arose in the course of implementing socioeconomic transformations were being overcome, including thanks to this cooperation.

The transfer of the ideological disagreements that arose in the early sixties between the CPSU and the AWP to the sphere of interstate relations led to the breaking off of ties between the USSR and Albania. Its relations with other European socialist countries deteriorated. Albania pulled out of involvement in the activities of CEMA and the Warsaw Pact. After that it primarily developed relations with the PRC and relied on the latter's economic aid. As disagreements emerged and grew between the AWP and the CPC, cooperation with that country, too, was curtailed.

Albania's economic and social development was founded on the principle of "full reliance on one's own

forces"—using only internal labor, material, and financial resources. Albania refused to attract foreign credits and loans.

In recent years, particularly since the Ninth AWP Congress (November 1986), the search for ways to resolve the urgent internal problems has been stepped up. Within the framework of improving the economic mechanism, enterprises and agricultural cooperatives are being granted more independence in questions of planning and production, and elements of economic accountability are being introduced. Wide use is being made of material incentive levers. The managerial apparatus is being cut.

In the social sphere great significance is attached to realizing the food program adopted at the Third AWP Central Committee Plenum (April 1987), increasing production of consumer goods, and providing all villages with drinking water in 1990. The creation of subsidiary plots on a collective basis (team livestock units and truck gardens) is being encouraged in order to better meet the needs of rural inhabitants for basic foodstuffs.

Steps are being taken to democratize internal party life. The Eighth AWP Central Committee plenum (September 1989), which discussed the question "On Further Strengthening the Party and Improving Its Work in Line With the Demands of the Time," indicated the need to eliminate parallelism and duplication in the activity of party and state bodies and to create an atmosphere in party organizations and labor collectives conducive to a broad exchange of opinions during the discussion of urgent problems and spoke in favor of nominating alternative candidates to the party bureaus of primary party organizations and the direct election of secretaries and their deputies in a secret ballot.

In a number of cases new approaches are being shown in foreign policy. Whereas previously Albania stood aloof from developing multilateral political cooperation within the Balkan region, in February 1988 it took part in a meeting of the Balkan states' foreign ministers in Belgrade and has also taken part in subsequent measures of a political, economic, scientific, and technical nature. Addressing the 44th session of the UN General Assembly, PSRA Foreign Minister Reis Malile stressed that "the Albanian Government will make tireless efforts to ensure that this process does not stop but is developed and consolidated."

The PSRA is galvanizing its contacts with West European countries, primarily the FRG (diplomatic relations were established with this country in 1987), Greece, France, and Turkey. Albania and these states have exchanged visits of foreign ministers, signed agreements on economic, industrial, and technical cooperation, and are broadening cultural ties. Broad prospects for economic cooperation are also opening up between Albania and Italy; during a recent visit to Tirana by an Italian Government delegation, the sides discussed the possibilities for intensifying collaboration in the extraction and processing of raw materials, electricity generation, metallurgy, the chemical industry, transport, agriculture, construction, tourism, and other spheres.

Positive trends are also being observed in the development of relations between the PSRA and socialist countries. Diplomatic relations with the GDR, Bulgaria, Hungary, Mongolia, and Czechoslovakia have been restored in full since the end of 1987. The Vietnamese, GDR, and Cuban foreign ministers have paid official visits to Albania. Agreements have been concluded on economic, industrial, and technical cooperation with Bulgaria, Romania, and the GDR.

As far as Soviet-Albanian relations are concerned, they have still not been regularized. The Soviet Union is sure that overcoming the accretions of the period of disunity between our countries and jointly seeking ways to restore normal relations would be in the interests of the peoples of both states and the cause of peace and socialism.

Government Bodies Greet Albanian Counterparts

PM2811191589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Nov 89 First Edition p 1

[USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers undated message to Albanian counterparts on liberation anniversary]

[Text] To the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

To the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

We cordially congratulate the working people of Albania on the 45th anniversary of the country's liberation from fascist occupationists and the victory of the people's revolution.

Soviet people entertain feelings of friendship and respect for the Albanian people and wish them further successes along the road of socialist building.

[signed] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
The USSR Council of Ministers

Shishlin on E. Europe Changes, End of Cold War

LD2811182789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Nov 89

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Nikolay Shishlin]

[Text] Naturally, all this week our attention has been riveted to the turbulent renewal processes under way in Eastern Europe, that part of the world, or, more accurately, that part of Europe, that has particularly close ties with us and with which we maintain alliance and traditional relations. It is necessary to say frankly that these turbulent renewal processes, as such, require thoughtful, profound, and well-considered evaluation. However, I would like to make a number of observations right now.

The rhythm of the changes, the pace of the changes is so great that neither politicians nor policy must lag behind the events, of course. Attempts to find answers to today's and tomorrow's problems in yesterday's solutions could be simply harmful, because trying to find answers to today's problems in the past alone is unthinkable. The situation has changed, the world is changing, Europe is changing, and in this situation using old sailing directions would mean running hopelessly aground or even foundering and sinking to the bottom. This is borne out by the lessons of the GDR, the lessons of Bulgaria, and the lessons of Czechoslovakia, but not only the lessons of these countries.

When people are talking about change, they are usually talking about changes in the socialist part of the world, about changes in Eastern Europe, but Western Europe is changing too. It is enough to mention the process of the formation of the single West European market. These profound changes as such are making a number of demands on politicians, and not just European politicians. The first demand is to ensure that the situation in Europe remains stable. Incidentally, by stability I do not mean in the least the preservation of the status quo. I mean preservation of the balance of interests.

The second demand is the need for all Europeans to back the process of the perestroyka of European relations. And the third and most pressing demand is the need to see what lies beyond the horizon, to see not only today's Europe, but also tomorrow's Europe, a Europe in which the process of building the common European home will unfold with new depth.

In the United States much is being said and written about the argument as to who has won the cold war. Naturally, it is claimed that the United States has won. Incidentally, I have also come across the viewpoint in our country that it was the Soviet Union that won the cold war. In my opinion, all this is absolutely trivial. Both the Soviet Union and the United States have lost the cold war. It is necessary to take leave of cold war without regrets, which, incidentally, is precisely what Europe is doing at the moment. After all, something new is being born out of this farewell. The tomorrow of European relations is being born. And, naturally, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to Italy will be called upon to play a very important role in the shaping of the future of European relations.

West Europe

Gorbachev Begins Official Visit to Italy

Arrival in Rome 29 Nov

LD2911111289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet is arriving in the capital of Italy for his official visit right at this very moment. Viktor Levin, our special correspondent is on the line from Rome:

[Levin] The aircraft on board which Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev arrived has just landed at Fiumicino airport, the Italian capital's airport. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, Raisa Maksimovna and the members of the Soviet delegation are being met by Giulio Andreotti, the Italian prime minister and Gianni de Michelis the Italian foreign minister. [passage omitted]

Moscow Seeing-off Party Noted

LD2911082589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Ten minutes ago an Aeroflot aircraft left Moscow for Italy with a Soviet delegation headed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on board. [passage omitted]

Mikhail Gorbachev was seen off at the airport in Moscow by: Zaykov, Kryuchkov, Ligachev, Maslyukov, Medvedev, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo; Lukyanov, Primakov, Pugo, candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo; Baklanov, Girenko, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee; Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet. (Zezze), Italian charge d'affaires to the USSR, was among the seeing off party.

Shevardnadze Accompanies Gorbachev

LD2911074989 Moscow TASS in English 0747 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev today left Moscow for Rome on a state visit at the invitation of the president and the government of Italy.

Gorbachev is being accompanied by Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee Aleksandr Yakovlev, Deputy Prime Minister Stepan Sitaryan and Moscow Mayor Valeriy Saykin.

Shevardnadze on 'New Renaissance'

PM2911111989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Nov 89 Moscow Evening Edition special supplement p 7

[Article by USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze: "Second Renaissance"]

[Text] Did the inhabitants of Italy in the 14th century realize or sense that they were beginning the transition from the Middle Ages to a higher stage of civilization? Hardly. The very term "Renaissance" appeared much later. As for the content and significance of that glorious era, they are subjects of debate to this day.

The pace of development is far quicker today. Society and civilization are undergoing transformation within the space of a single generation.

There is the temptation and there are attempts to call nearly every decade a "new era." Unfortunately, inflation also affects notions of the scale of events.

Remember that the essence of the Renaissance was the establishment of humanism, and the idea of the centrality of the human being.

It seems to me that today one is witnessing a revival of the humanist idea, a return to the human being, human values, and the human scale of things.

Civilization is the product of human intelligence, but occasionally it seems to "run away" from humans, get out of control, be taken over by material forces, and lose the supreme, spiritual purpose of its development.

An example of this loss of direction is the creation of nuclear weapons and the nuclear arms race. There is no sense now in saying what would have happened if.... The atom bomb was tested and used and the history of mankind entered the dark shadow cast by it.

We live with nuclear weapons and are aware that they are a danger to mankind. But we have yet to comprehend the true, human dimension of the nuclear threat. It cannot, in my view, be reduced to a military-technical or political aspect of the problem of security.

Knowledge exacerbates suffering. Knowledge of the existence of a "red button," which, if pressed, could bring about the end of the civlization which thousands of generations have created adds suffering to our perception of the world and of life. Might not this knowledge devalue our notion of the value of human life? Meaning that human beings are not the ultimate yardstick, not the supreme value, if there are things for which human beings, mankind, and civilization can be sacrified.

I believe that the changing attitude toward nuclear weapons that we are witnessing today was predetermined, perhaps, by an as yet only vaguely perceived, but growing desire to restore man's supreme status.

The same thing can be observed in the ecological sphere. The new ecological awareness is also a rehabilitation of human beings. A switch to an integral view of their requirements and interests and spiritual needs.

It may seem paradoxical, but the raising today of the question of animal rights is the best indication of what kind of changes are taking place in our ideas about human rights.

In recent years world public opinion has definitely united in its resolute rejection of violence, cruelty, egoism, and intolerance. Indeed, policies and politicians are increasingly being judged by high standards of ethics and morality, honesty and decency.

This is also a sign of the times— the establishment of a humane approach in spheres which formerly were nearly all geared to state interests, taking precedence over human and social interests and often over moral standards.

Whatever aspects of modern life and modern ideas we consider we can always discern strong new emphases on humanity in relations between people, between nations and states, and in relation to living things and nature in general.

One is justified in talking about a steady rising tide of humanism as a characteristic feature of the world of the late 20th century, of the spread of unifying ideas about the true values of life, human dignity and rights, good and evil.

Perhaps never before have there been so many public movements for peace, for mutual understanding, for nature conservation, for united efforts in the solution of mankind's problems. But never before have people known so much about one another. Modern means of communication enable us to see for ourselves what is happening in the most distant places, to experience joy and tragedy together, to talk with people who have different views, beliefs, and faiths and people of different nationalities.

Our world is far from idyllic. There is much grief, suffering, and injustice. Millions of people, whole nations are suffering need and deprivation. In many places blood is being spilled, people are perishing.

However, never before has there been such a clear understanding of the fact that this world a single whole, that pain is indivisible, that there is no such thing as other people's trouble. All these changes in man's social sphere, the new currents and trends, could not but have an impact on interstate and international relations. They revealed the need for the new political thinking and brought about its emergence.

Without renouncing obsolete views it is impossible to effect the switch from "cold war" to a period of peace, from nuclear deterrence to nonoffensive defense, from rivalry and confrontation to cooperation and collaboration.

New thinking in politics means looking at the world from man's angle, from the angle of his interests. It is an outlook geared to man's welfare.

I am convinced that the fact that nuclear missiles targeted on the Soviet Union, and missiles in our country targeted on Italy have been removed as a result of the conclusion of the first nuclear disarmament treaty is a reality which purifies the atmosphere of human communication between the inhabitants of our two countries.

Man stands to gain from the lowering of confrontation, reduction of the number of troops, and cuts in military arsenals, he stands to gain in material terms and by acquiring peace of mind and confidence in the future.

The formation, despite all contradictions and difficulties, of the European rule-of-law, informational, economic, and ecological expanses [prostranstva] and the building of the common European home is in keeping with the interests of every inhabitant of our continent and all the participants in the Helsinki process since it is advancing us toward a new quality of life.

Through the new thinking we have a chance to organize our collective life on the basis of the principles of humanism and democracy. The world of the 3d millenium can and must become a nuclear-free, nonviolent, demilitarized, and humane world.

Perhaps historians will describe our time as an age of a new Renaissance. We cannot judge this. But what harm can it do if we tell ourselves that we are living and working in order to revive all that is best, noble, and bright in man and in the world. A great aim may move us to work great deeds. Inspiration will help us to achieve more.

A great many things remain to be done. Above all, it is necessary to continue contacts and dialogue at all levels, show understanding and tolerance, strengthen confidence, seek consensus, and develop cooperation.

I am confident that M.S. Gorbachev's upcoming visit to the Italian Republic will contribute to all these aims.

Allow me to say in conclusion that I am sincerely pleased to address you in this publication alongside my great friend Giulio Andreotti for whom I have the most profound respect. I highly value his contribution to the development of the all-European process and to the improvement of East-West relations.

We belong to two different political philosophies but this does not prevent us from drawing spiritual satisfaction from communicating with each other, finding a common language, and working jointly for the benefit of our countries.

In this individual case of human compatibility I also perceive hope that the universal human principles will triumph.

Shevardnadze Message on Lebanon

AU2511211589 Rome ANSA in English 0932 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] (ANSA) Rome [No date as received]—The Soviet Union has expressed deep concern here over recent developments in Lebanon which it fears could compromise the positive results achieved at the meeting in Taif, Saudi Arabia, results which must be preserved as they are in the fundamental interests of Lebanon itself, and the entire Middle East area, according to a message delivered by Soviet ambassador Nikolay Lunkov to Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis Friday.

In the message, the Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, through Lunkov, urged the international community to intervene on a bilateral and multilateral level with all factions involved in Lebanon to see to it that the progress already made is preserved and the country put firmly on the road to reconciliation and peace.

Agenda of Gorbachev Visit

LD2911102589 Moscow TASS in English 0929 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev:

President Gorbachev has left on an official visit to Italy. The road to the "Common European Home" and he is deservedly regarded as one of its architects, was bound to take him to the "Eternal City". Italy has played an important part in the all-European dialogue from the very outset. This is why the importance of the current visit can hardly be overestimated.

The visit is quite extraordinary from many points of view. In addition to continuing perestroika in the Soviet Union, it is taking place against the background of radical socio-political reforms in European socialist states, dynamic changes in Western Europe and efforts to pull down the "iron curtain". It is occurring against the background of changing military and economic structures and progress towards Europe's brighter future.

The agenda of President Gorbachev's visit to Italy includes many meetings and talks on bilateral Soviet-Italian relations and on continental matters.

The welcoming ceremony at Fiumicino Airport will be followed immediately by a meeting with Italian President Francesco Cossiga at Quirinale Palace, a wreath-laying ceremony at Patria Altare Memorial Complex and by negotiations with the Chairman of the Council of Ministers Giulio Andreotti at Chigi Palace. Then President Gorbachev will attend the opening of a Soviet "Perestroika in Action" exhibition and a dinner at Quirinale Palace.

The second day of the three-day visit will be equally busy. The agenda includes lunch with the leadership of the Italian Communist Party, Soviet-Italian plenary negotiations at the Soviet guests' residence. The signing of Soviet-Italian documents, a meeting with leaders of the two houses of the Italian Parliament and with representatives of the political parties making up the governing coalition, and a speech at the city municipal council.

An equally crowded programme has been drawn up for President Gorbachev's wife—Raisa.

The concluding day of the visit, December 1, will be marked by a truly extraordinary event. After a farewell ceremony at Quirinale Palace, President Gorbachev will call at the Vatican for talks with Pope John Paul II. The negotiations are expected to concentrate on the priority

of universal values, on the consolidation of peace and mutual understanding in the rapidly changing world situation.

President Gorbachev will then visit Milan and meet local business and financial representatives. After Milan he will fly to Malta.

There is no doubt that the visit and the signing of a bilateral political declaration will give fresh impetus and add new quality both to the political and cultural-economic relations between the two nations.

The history of relations between ancient Rus and Italy dates back to the 10th century. The friendship between the two nations has been particularly close during difficult periods of their lives.

Russian navymen helped the Messina earthquake victims in 1908 and twenty years later the Soviet icebreaker Krasin rescued members of Nobile's Arctic expedition.

In 1988 Italy was among the first to help the Armenian earthquake victims. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet decorated yesterday with the order "for personal valour" a group of Italian rescuers and doctors who worked in Armenia during those tragic days.

One cannot but agree with Giulio Andreotti who said in the Italian Senate this summer that today Soviet-Italian relations are truly unique as regards scope and warmth, despite the fact that the two countries have different social systems.

President Gorbachev's current visit confirms this statement and is bound to contribute to the development of these relations, to Soviet-Italian cooperation.

Vatican on Gorbachev-Pope Meeting

LD2911014989 Moscow TASS in English 1007 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—"Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming meeting with John Paul II will focus on the future, not the past. This will be its historical significance", Joaquin Navarro, a Vatican spokesman, director of the Holy See Information Centre, said in the weekly MOSCOW NEWS today.

"It is necessary to broaden existing relations, make them stable and put them on an official basis," he said.

"We should get accustomed to the possibility of establishing normal Vatican-USSR relations, particularly under the current pope, the first Slavic pope in the Catholic Church history. John Paul II knows well the history, literature, culture and even language of Russia."

The pope's and Gorbachev's common approach to Europe can be the starting point for cooperation between the Holy See and the Soviet Union. The pope favours a common Europe from the Atlantic coast to the Urals, while the Soviet president advocates a common European home.

The Soviet leader now centers political life in the USSR around people, not the system. That can also be the basis for concord between the pope and Gorbachev.

The pope treasures the concept of man's priority. The pope and the Soviet leader can therefore find a common language discussing many problems in the present-day world." Navarro said. [quote marks as received]

PRAVDA on Gorbachev Visit

PM2911092589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Nov 89 First Edition p 1, 4

[Special correspondents G. Zafesov, N. Miroshnik, V. Ovchinnikov, and V. Paradnya dispatch from Rome on the eve of M.S. Gorbachev's official visit to Italy: "A Worthy End to the 'European Year'"]

[Excerpt] Rome—[Passage omitted] Italian political circles and the press highlight the all-European aspect of M.S. Gorbachev's visit which opens tomorrow. Italian Prime Minister G. Andreotti's observation that the Soviet-Italian dialogue will not only make it possible to deepen the concept of the common European home but also contribute to its more intensive and dynamic translation into reality have met with a wide response.

Both the West European and the U.S. branch of Soviet foreign policy are organic components of this policy. There is no reason to pit one against the other, although this does happen from time to time now on this, now on that side of the Atlantic. There has again been evidence of this in connection with the upcoming meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and G. Bush off Malta.

The very announcement of this meeting provoked a kind of "Reykjavik syndrome"—fears, that is, that Moscow and Washington could come to some kind of agreements concerning West Europe without its participation. In actual fact the Old World is not a passive onlooker, much less the object of any sort of collusion by the "two superpowers." The Soviet Union has proceeded and does proceed from the premise that Europe has been and remains an inalienable and full-fledged participant in the process of East-West rapprochement.

The development of the Helsinki process has confirmed that Europe is capable of initiating the improvement of a whole range of international relations and making a worthy contribution to the cause of their demilitarization, democratization, and humanization. Naturally, it is a question not so much of the geographical as of the political concept of Europe, as the homeland of the Helsinki process which represents the actual foundations and the most effective way of building the common European home.

In turn, U.S. and Canadian participation in this process can help to turn the beginning now made in Europe into a prologue to the building of a home covering the planet as a whole.

The construction of the northern wall of the all-European home was discussed at the Soviet-Finnish summit. The successful construction of its southern wall can hardly be imagined without cooperation with Italy. The Final Act adopted in Helsinki notes that "the process of strengthening security should not be confined to Europe: It must be extended to other parts of the world and in particular the Mediterranean."

This cradle of European civilization, its point of contact with the cultures of Asia and Africa, this intersection of ancient sea routes has now become one of the most explosive areas in the world. Nowhere on such a small stretch of water is there such a concentration of naval power. As we know, Italy is a member of NATO. And although its approach to the problem of the Mediterranean is ambivalent, the Italian stance contains positive elements. A viewpoint expressed by G. Spadolini, president of the Italian Senate, is relatively widespread in local political circles. "The security of the Mediterranean must be a priority and constant objective of Italian foreign policy. The security of the Mediterranean determines both the security of Italy itself and the security of one of the most forward-based flanks of the Euro-Atlantic community, from which our own security cannot be separated."

The Soviet initiatives announced in Belgrade reaffirmed our readiness to withdraw the USSR and U.S. fleets from the Mediterranean, on a basis of reciprocity, and not to build up their numerical strength or potential. It was proposed that prior to the coordination of general confidence-building measures the sides would inform each other about the movement of warships and elaborate principles and methods of guaranteeing the safety of intensive shipping routes, especially in international straits. It is beyond question that both Italy and the Soviet Union are interested in resolving the problems of the Mediterranean. The newspaper IL MESSAGGERO writes, for instance, that much attention will be paid to these problems during the talks.

M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Italy will take place against the backdrop of rapid changes in Eastern Europe. They are undoubtedly proving a factor in world politics. The processes of the renewal of socialism are taking different routes in individual countries. This reflects differences in the initial conditions, the economic base, and political experience and traditions. The desire to realize socialism's humanist potential more fully makes peoples more open and brings them closer together by dint of this fact.

However, it must not be forgotten that the changes on our continent have their own specific characteristics. These are connected with the outcome of World War II and the postwar political and territorial arrangements. No one has a right to encroach on this legacy, which can be disposed of only jointly. "Two fundamental principles were established in Helsinki," Italian Foreign Minister G. de Michelis has said. "The first consists in the fact that integration between the East and the West of the continent can take place only in the context of the greater Europe which extends from San Francisco to Vladivostok, in other words it includes the United States and the USSR... And the second principle is that the present borders are inalienable. It is essential to state with the utmost clarity—and this is the Italian stance—that East-West economic and subsequently also political integration can take place only on the condition that the existing borders are respected."

It is indeed necessary to treasure what has been achieved through joint efforts in the sphere of security and economic and humanitarian cooperation thanks to the ability to combine the all-European principle with the national interests of individual states. To hope that the avalanche of changes will result in the dismantling rather than the renewal of socialism would be to display dangerous short-sightedness. The main thing now is to keep moving forward calmly and with circumspection, avoiding unpredictable developments. A stable, secure, and democratic Europe is in the general interest.

M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the Apennines concludes, as it were, an active and dynamic "European year." Perhaps this is why the Soviet-Italian meetings are evoking so many expectations.

De Michelis on Visit Prospects

PM2911112389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Nov 89 Second Edition p 7

[Article by Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis: "Erecting a European Home"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Italy, which begins in a few days' time, will take place against the backdrop of a historic East-West reconciliation. This is the first visit by a head of state, who is also at the same time the party leader, since the October Revolution.

M.S. Gorbachev is coming to Rome at the end of an exceptional year. The collapse of the Berlin Wall opens the door to a future European home, which it will hardly be possible to close again if, as M.S. Gorbachev himself remarked, the peaceful decisions taking place these days are irreversible. We are witnessing extraordinary events, a number of whose aspects he anticipated to some extent in his December 1988 UN speech about the interdependence of states in the face of new problems, democracy, new security for Europe, and the possibilities for cooperation.

The USSR is evolving; this process is not devoid of dange. and difficulties, its results cannot be precisely divined, and it requires the kind of effort of imagination and will which leaders rarely had in the past. Alexander Herzen, the great Russian exile and friend of people who represent the era of Italian reunification—the Risorgimento—said that every new generation must have the

right to enjoy the benefits of the previous generation without paying for them. His idea is applicable to present-day Europe in its quest for a system which is as stable as the one that emerged as a result of World War II but which is unburdened by such a quantity of injustice.

Our continent's transformation will be the center of the Italian-Soviet conversations, and that is why European integration will be the first item on their agenda.

"Common Market" Europe feels that it has contributed to awakening the hopes of its neighbors in the East and promoted the bold reforms there, dominated by the quest for freedom; and it knows that the model of a civilized society for which its neighbors are striving is the model which has been brought about after great delays and contradictions by the 12 EEC members.

Given their recognition of their own responsibility, it only remains for the EEC countries to speed up the process of their own unification, including political association, and at the same time to implement more progressive forms of integration with states belonging to the "other" Europe than is currently the case. That is why the EEC's plans are also assuming an external significance, directed toward those people who look to Brussels as a model for their future. Italy's policy has always corresponded with these preconditions, and it is significant that Gorbachev will be delivering his most important speech on the Capitoline, in the hall where the Treaty of Rome, establishing the EEC, was signed.

Gorbachev will arrive on the eve of an EEC session in Strasbourg which, by initiating political and currency union, will be a turning point both for EEC integration and for overall strategy with regard to the European East. The "Twelve," who have already sounded one another out at the unofficial summit in Paris 18 November, will have to formulate a common declaration on this question in Strasbourg, at the Italian side's suggestion. Since Italy will take over the EEC presidency in the second half of 1990, clearly it could also play a stimulating role both in the unification of the "Twelve" and in their relations with the "other" Europe.

The reunification of the two Europes must occur on the basis of respect for human rights in accordance with criteria laid down by the Helsinki Final Act, and at the same time no one's security must be sacrificed. This is a process which cannot progress on the basis of emotional impulses, feelings, insults, and uncalculated risks; it can only be done by making responsible use of truth and freedom. On security questions we must also follow the logic of integration, which would not be the Soviet Union's logic if it were to play the German card to separate Germany from Europe or the European card to separate Europe from the United States. But I do not believe that those are the Soviet leadership's intentions.

The Soviet Union understands, in my view, that its own security is better guaranteed by allies who are not necessarily allied to it ideologically but whose governments enjoy good support at home. On the other hand, if military alliances and the U.S. presence in Europe are as necessary in the era of change and reconciliation as they were in the era of confrontation, it is today becoming dramatically necessary to accelerate the arms talks, particularly the conventional arms talks under way in Vienna.

The German question is symbolic as regards the need to combine the stability that has existed for more than 40 years in Europe with the new democratic realities. The geopolitical framework within which the Germans will invest their nation's unity is important. It is desirable for the integration of the two German states, whatever form it may take, to occur within the context of deepening unity within the European community and organic ties between it and the countries of the East. When they meet off Malta, G. Bush and M.S. Gorbachev cannot fail to agree about the strategic significance of the integration of present-day Europe in accordance with the logic of security—contrary to that linked with the name of Yalta, which was founded on division. As for the question of borders, I believe that, in accordance with the Helsinki criteria, they must be deprived of significance by the free movement of goods, ideas, and people, in an ultimately more uniform Europe where societies intermingle and economies integrate, as is the case these days in Berlin.

During the conversations in Rome our contribution to perestroyka will also be discussed. M.S. Gorbachev's visit constitutes an opportunity for a qualitative leap in economic cooperation by means of a whole series of agreements encompassing both the traditional spheres of cooperation—chemicals and the power industry—and new spheres such as telecommunications. We will sign a joint declaration on converting the military industry to civilian purposes, the first of its kind on a key question with which the success of perestroyka is linked—the question of removing resources from military budgets.

We must also initiate joint action in Rome aimed at resolving so-called "all-pervasive" problems on the basis of concrete accords, ranging from narcotics to the dangers looming over the planet Earth, which is also our largest common home. We will effect a turnaround in cultural exchange by opening centers in the appropriate capitals and via the European Fund project, since European awareness in the cultural sphere is also nurtured by the rich Italian and Russian legacy.

Last, we will deepen the mechanisms of coordination on the political, parliamentary, and military levels and also contacts between our two societies, starting with contacts between the governments. It will ultimately be a question of boosting the political level of bilateral relations in accordance with the direction of highly important joint declarations, which will enable us to contribute to the joint transformation of the nineties.

Mikhail Gorbachev is coming to Rome at a fortunate moment when inertia and ideological simplifications are being overcome. History is once again switching to a fast pace, partially confirming that its results are uncertain

but that it is at any rate increasingly the creature of all peoples and all states. We also need to avoid the retreat from ideology and hegemony opening the way to the nationalism which so burdened European history. We want to discuss with M.S. Gorbachev the strategy capable of establishing a different system on the continent, which is still by no means a common home but is making great strides to overcome the current interim phases on the way to that goal, which are also passed via regional decisions like the one just initiated in Budapest by Austria, Italy, Yugoslavia, and Hungary. Like the Italian architects of the Risorgimento era who replaced wood with stone in designing the Moscow Kremlin, we intend to create a less ephemeral stability capable of answering the challenge of the time.

Gorbachev Preface to Book Cited

LD2811234789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1815 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Rome, 28 Nov (TASS)—TASS Correspondents Aleksandr Tarakanov and Nikolay Teterin report:

A presentation ceremony was held today in the joint press center of the Italian news agency ADN-CHRONOS and the NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY in Rome for M.S. Gorbachev's book "The All-European Home," which has been published in Italian. It contains interviews, speeches, and articles by M.S. Gorbachev. The book was prepared jointly by NOVOSTI and Italy's leading publishing trust Mondadori.

It begins with an address to Italian readers:

On the eve of my visit to Italy, the Mondadori publishing house has decided to bring out a collection of some of my speeches over the last few years, and has asked me to preface it with an address to readers. A book like this probably does not need authorial explanations: Speeches and statements, and particularly the deeds connected with them, should speak for themselves. Nonetheless, on looking through the material selected for it, there are a few things I would like to say:

I am constantly aware of how rapidly and abruptly everything in the world is changing at the end of the eighties! Much of what even a year or two ago seemed hardly feasible in Europe, has now either become reality or else is on the agenda of current political work. An entire class of nuclear weapons is being scrapped. Next year an agreement will probably be concluded on radical reductions in conventional arms and armed forces. The ties between the countries of Europe have taken on a truly unprecedented nature in their diversity and intensity. In a word, Europe is taking confident steps toward overcoming hostility, division, and confrontation. There are grounds for hoping that the era symbolized by the "iron curtain" is giving way to an era which will be symbolized by the all-European home.

I believe this has become possible because, first, a sober outlook on the world has become prevalent; people have sensed its growing oneness and the interdependence of different states, and have begun to realize the vital importance of common human values. Second, Europeans, like many inhabitants of other continents, have come to appreciate time, realizing more and more that if we wish to save civilization, and life on Earth itself, we are obliged to restructure ourselves for a new system of relations, for their new norms and rules, and to rapidly free ourselves from the heritage of the "cold war."

From this point of view, many of the specific ideas, evaluations, and proposals in the book can today be seen as reminders of the distance already covered. I think, however, that the reader will also find in it long-term objectives and the principles of the USSR's foreign policy, which ensue from [words indistinct] (?fine) utopia, but the result of a precise analysis of the international situation. [passage omitted]

Moscow Opinion Poll on Italy

LD2911104689 Moscow TASS in English 1027 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—According to a public opinion poll, most Muscovites welcome Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to Italy and his meeting with the head of the Roman-Catholic Church Pope John Paul II. The poll was conducted among 759 Muscovites by the newspaper MOSCOW NEWS at the request of the Italian newspaper LA REPUBBLICA.

Eighty nine percent of the respondents had a positive opinion of the forthcoming meeting. Fifty two percent believe that although Italy is a NATO country and has NATO military bases on its territory, it poses no military threat to the Soviet Union.

The survey showed that Muscovites are more interested in Italy than in other European countries. Twenty percent of the respondents consider Italy to be the most interesting country in terms of culture, history and life-style. Thirty eight percent spoke in favour of France, 17 percent—Great Britain, 9.5 percent—West Germany and 8.6 percent—Spain.

Singer Adriano Celentano is the most popular Italian in Moscow. Other popular singers or cinema stars include Toto Cutugno, Marcello Mastroianni and Federico Fellini. The most popular Italian writer is Gianni Rodari. He is followed by Dante, Moravia, Boccaccio, Giovagnoli and Petrarca.

Forty one percent of the respondents associated Italy with the sun, sea and good weather, 20 percent—with historical landmarks and works of art, 10 percent—with Venice and gondolas, 10 percent—with the Mafia.

Fifty two percent said that shoes were the most well-known Italian products in Moscow. Twenty five percent give preference to Italian clothes, 17—to automobiles and 11 to macaroni.

Twenty-two percent of the respondents believe that the government has real power in Italy, 13 percent believe that the power belongs to the Mafia. Nine percent think that the country is ruled by capital.

Silin Comments on Italy Visit

LD2811161389 Moscow TASS in English 1503 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—The international public attaches much importance to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's upcoming visit to Italy, Yevgeniy Silin, deputy chairman of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, told TASS.

"Our committee maintains good contacts with Italian public, political and scientific circles, Catholic organisations and news media," he said.

"During recent meetings and conversations in Italy we became convinced that the Italians view the visit as an event of paramount importance.

"Both in the Soviet Union and in Italy, there is now much talk about the building of a common Europe home," Silin said. "We hope that political and economic accords that are expectyed to be reached in Italy will promote the building of a common European home.

"Irrespective of the fact that countries belong to different blocs and groupings, the entire Europe is interested in the solution of ecological issues and the development of trade relations.

"It is essential to use the current relaxation of international tension and the changes in the Soviet Union and East-European countries to secure that the idea of building a common European home does not become an empty sound.

"Much attention is also being attached in Europe to Gorbachev's forthcoming meeting in the Vatican with John Paul the Second, the head of the Roman Catholic Church," Silin said.

Pronouncements by representatives of the Catholic and scientific communities both in Italy and in other European countries show that many difficulties which previously hampered contacts with Soviet people disappear, mutual understanding develops, and dialogue intensifies," he said.

"On the whole the world public expects that Gorbachev's visit will deepen mutual understanding between countries, which will promote acceleration of the processes of disarmament, the removal of the military threat in Europe and the realisation of the idea of building a common European home."

Zagladin Views Gorbachev Visit

LD2811192289 Moscow TASS in English 1231 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—The current year has witnessed the tumultuous development of the European process. This year's events help explain why Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has visited many of the European countries—Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Finland, says Vadim Zagladin, an aide to the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation.

In a Soviet radio interview on Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to Italy, Zagladin said that from the very beginning Italy played an important role in that process. Therefore, Zagladin stressed, a dialogue between the Soviet and Italian leaders on an entire range of European issues, as well as bilateral relations, have tremendous significance.

During the visit a political declaration will be signed, Zagladin said, adding that it is "a very interesting, substantive document." He expressed hope that the forthcoming visit will give a new dimension to the economic, cultural and political ties between the two countries.

Zagladin stressed that the Soviet and Italian leaders hold similar views on many fundamental issues in world and European affairs. In particular, both sides favour maintaining a stable basis in the changing world and the momentum of detente, ending confrontation and encouraging observance by all European states of their commitments within the CSCE framework. Both states also advocate the permanent development of "Europe as a single entity."

The Soviet expert said that Gorbachev's meeting with Pope John Paul II "is a truly extraordinary event." He said the Soviet president and the pontiff would discuss the development of the European process and strengthening the role of universal values in modern world.

Academic Head Calls 1968 Intervention 'Shock'

LD2811221989 Prague CTK in English 2048 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Rome Nov 28 (CTK Correspondent)—"The 1968 intervention in Czechoslovakia was a shock for me", a Soviet Academy of Sciences Institute of the World Socialist System department head Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, who will accompany Mikhail Gorbachev on his visit to Italy, told CTK here today.

"I have not agreed to the version about the international assistance for a single minute", he said.

He expressed satisfaction that the Czechoslovak people after "typical waiting and circumspection" have found courage to return to the ideals of 1968.

"I hope", he said, "that the people who participated in the Prague Spring will take again an active part in

deciding about the fate of the country". He pointed to the evident intellectual and moral decline of the Czechoslovak Communist Party after the screening of party members at the beginning of the 1970's. If these people could return to the party, it would be very good for the party itself, he said.

Zagladin on 1968 'Intervention'

LD2811221389 Prague CTK in English 2129 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Rome Nov 28 (CTK correspondent)—Mikhail Gorbachev's adviser Vadim Zagladin told a news conference here today that it is necessay to have in mind the specific conditions under which the decision about the entry of forces into Czechoslovakia in 1968 was made, and added that it is quite clear that similar actions are completely excluded from the point of view of the Soviet foreign policy today.

He pointed out that relations between socialist states were for a long time being built on bases different from those recognized today. It was not only an affair of international policy but also Czechoslovakia's internal affair. It seems, he said, that Czechoslovakia will now be ready to take its stand on this matter.

Head of a Soviet Academy of Sciences Institute for the World Socialist System department Yevgeniy Ambartsumov stated at the news conference that many Soviet intellectuals and cultural officials have been always condemning the intervention. However, to voice a protest publicly meant to get into prison or a psychiatric ward.

Ambartsumov said that he himself was maintaining personal contacts with many representatives of the Prague Spring period who left or had to leave, and he voiced satisfaction that the name of Alexander Dubcek has again appeared on the scene as a symbol.

Zagladin 'Puzzled' by Kohl Reunification Plan

AU2911103189 Rome ANSA in English 0818 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] (ANSA) Rome—Vadim Zagladin, a close advisor to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, on Tuesday said he was "puzzled" by the plan drawn up by West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl for the reunification of East and West Germany.

Zagladin, here taking part in the advance team preparing for Gorbachev's Wednesday-to-Friday visit to Italy, told the press Tuesday "I have read in the press of the so-called 'Kohl Plan' and am quite surprised given that, if I understand correctly, the chancellor appears to be contradicting his previous position".

Gorbachev's advisor then went on to underline how Kohl appears to be planning the future of a united Germany without taking into account that he is dealing with another sovereign state, East Germany. "I am not sure if one can define Kohl's initiative as 'realpolitik,'" Zagladin added, "but I feel that at the moment one should show some moderation".

In recalling affirmations made by Italian Premier Giulio Andreotti, according to whom Germany is "one nation and two states", Nikolay Portugalov, a leading authority on German affairs in the Central Committee, said "I do not rule out the possibility of developing a confederal structure... But given the geopolitical picture today, I do not think Europe is ready for a united Germany".

According to Portugalov, if Kohl "wants to arrive at a German confederation in the framework of constructing a common European home, then his initiative is acceptable. If, on the other hand, he is seeking to accelerate matters and make German reunification a top priority, then his initiative is doomed to breakdown".

The Central Committee expert on German affairs then went on to affirm that "a confederation and a confederal structure are two different things. If we are speaking of developing a confederal structure for cooperation in the economic and environmental fields, then this is possible. But if we are talking about a confederation, a single state made up of two entities which are part of separate political-military blocs, then this is absolutely impossible".

Portugalov then reiterated that "the question today is not that of creating a German confederation. One can speak, however, of developing a confederal structure which maintains the two distinct German states which exist today".

According to the Soviet official, as long as East and West Germany continue to belong to two different military alliances, the Warsaw Pact and NATO respectively, "unification is purely hypothetical speculation".

Shishlin Views Kohl's Call for Reunification

LD2811225589 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl has called for a future federation with the German Democratic Republic which would include regular consultations between the two governments. Mr Kohl told parliament that reunification was Bonn's eventual goal but that this was a complex long-term goal that could only be attained in a general European context. He outlined the urgent economic steps Bonn was ready to take, but at the same time set a number of conditions, including free elections, scrapping the Communist Party's monopoly of power, and abolishing central planning in the economy. Yuriy Minayev of our staff asked Nikolay Shishlin, a senior expert with the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, how he felt about Chancellor Kohl's statement. In a telephone interview, Nikolay Shishlin said this:

It would be strange of course if such developments as the developments in the German Democratic Republic and

other East European countries would remain unnoticed. It is also natural that people are not just concerned about the present but also try to look into the future. As for the conditions put forward by the West German Government, I don't consider them serious. To my mind they're meant rather for West Germans than for the people of the German Democratic Republic. In the GDR, the public and political forces can find solutions to the problems that have appeared in the country. Judging by the statements of its leaders and the public, the quest for such solutions has started. Thus the advice was not requested. Moreover it repeated what the leaders of the GDR had said.

Take for example the call for the constitutional changes. The leadership of the country has unequivocally stressed the need for such alterations. As for economic cooperation, no one in the German Democratic Republic is against it. How can this cooperation be conducted? I think the two countries should act as equal partners, taking each others' interests into account, without trying to be condescending. If we try to look into the future I believe we can count on something, if we manage to preserve the balance of interests in the light of all the current changes in Europe.

The course of developments in Europe is so fast that it is important not to lose the guidelines. Then the future will be promising. We should not be guided simply by short-term or medium- interests, though that is important too, but by long-term objectives as well. To my mind, it is more productive to count on the appearance of an all-European home where there will be no place for either NATO or the Warsaw Treaty Organization. In that future Europe, the issue of two German states can be raised in an absolutely different plane than today.

I quite agree with the opinion of West Germany that this issue can be settled only voluntarily and the (?track) of the road will depend only on the population of the German Democratic Republic and Federal Germany, taking into account the opinions of the neighbors of the two German states and the existing realities.

FRG Bundestag Views Kohl Plan for Germanys

LD2811221889 Moscow TASS in English 2152 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Bonn November 28 TASS—Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the leading opposition party, the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), spoke in the Bundestag debate, supporting on the whole the stage-by-stage plan put forward by Chancellor Helmut Kohl for the development of relations between the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic.

The establishment of a confederation of two German states by no means rules out their affiliation with the two now existing alliances, Vogel said.

Having pointed out the irreversibility of changes taking place in the GDR, Vogel at the same time emphasised: "We do not have a right to patronise its citizens who must decide themselves whether they want to live in their own country or prefer some form of coexistence with the Federal Republic."

The government of the FRG should not make cooperation with the GDR dependent on the latter's consent to introduce the political and economic system existing in West Germany, stated Karsten Voigt, foreign policy expert of the SPD parliamentary group.

The talks about state reunification of Germany, he said, runs counter to the Bonn thesis about the invariability of the FRG's affiliation with NATO.

New thinking in the East, he stressed, also calls for new thinking in the West. In this connection Voigt on behalf of the SPD urged Bonn to favour a 50-per cent cut in the armed forces of the two blocs by the year 2000.

Otto Lambsdorff, chairman fo the Free Democratic Party (FDP), one of the parties of the government coalition, spoke against the modernisation of tactical nuclear missiles by NATO countries and favoured final renunciation of plans to extend the term of service in the Bundeswehr.

Jutta Esterle-Schwerin, a spokeswoman for the parliamentary group of the Greens Party, called for unreserved recognition of the equality and sovereignty of the GDR by Bonn and condemned plans aimed at it being gobbled up by the Federal Republic. At present there are no reasons for reunification, she stated.

The Federal Republic's Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher emphasised in his remarks during the debate that the present political development in the GDR and other socialist countries of Eastern Europe is the consequence of the "historic policy" launched by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Therefore cooperation with the Soviet Union, he said, will promote the success of the policy of reforms in these countries.

Genscher favoured using the chance for the pursuance of a joint course with regard to the GDR by all parties. He believes that the planned cooperation with the GDR should not be stipulated by any preliminary demands.

Kohl Speech on Inter-German Relations Reported

LD2811192789 Moscow TASS in English 1910 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Bonn November 28 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Vladimir Serov:

Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl made a speech in the Bundestag today, setting out a whole number of proposals concerning the development of relations between the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries.

This subject became the centrepiece of the discussion of the draft state budget for 1990 in the second and third reading that began in the West German Parliament.

The chancellor described Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of reforms in the USSR and new thinking in Soviet foreign policy as one of decisive prerequisites of the renewal process which began in the German Democratic Republic.

The new atmosphere of trust in relations between the great powers, the process of disarmament as well as the CSCE process which is leading to relaxation of tension, dialogue and cooperation between the countries of Eastern and Western Europe were also of great importance.

Kohl believes that a new stage is now beginning in European history and may lead to a gradual change of the present political structures.

"We are called upon to create a new architecture of the common European home and a durable peaceful set-up on the continent, with the legitimate interests of all the sides taken into account," he said.

Kohl set out a stage-by-stage programme for the development of relations between the two German states. At the first stages the West German Government is prepared to give humanitarian aid to the GDR and to develop economic, scientific, technical, cultural and ecological cooperation with it.

At the same time the chancellor made Bonn's readiness for large-scale and comprehensive cooperation with East Germany dependent on the "irreversibility of the radical change of the political and economic systems of the GDR."

He called for a change of the present Constitution of the GDR, a renunciation by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) of the "monopoly on power" and the adoption of a new law on elections.

The chancellor supported the idea put forward by Hans Modrow, chairman of the GDR's Council of Ministers, to establish a treaty-based community of the two German states.

During subsequent development of relations between the FRG and the GDR, the chancellor believes, confederative structures between them may be created and gradually lead to the establishment of a federation. It presupposes the formation of a joint inter-governmental committee and a joint parliamentary body.

Relations between the two German states, Kohl believes, should develop in close inter-relationship with the development of the entire CSCE process.

The overcoming of the division of Europe, the chancellor said, also presupposes an acceleration of the arms control and disarmament process. Kohl emphasised that Bonn's ultimate goal is to restore the state unity of Germany, although he admitted that no one now knows when this will happen.

North Rhine-Westphalia Premier Concludes Visit

Vlasov, Rau Confer

PM2411124389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Nov 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Cooperation Developing"]

[Text] A meeting between A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers, and J. Rau, prime minister of North Rhine-Westphalia (FRG), who is in our country at the invitation of the RSFSR Government, was held 22 November.

During a constructive conversation topical questions pertaining to friendly ties between the RSFSR and North Rhine-Westphalia were discussed.

A.V. Vlasov and J. Rau noted with satisfaction the recent expansion of mutually advantageous businesslike ties in the economy, construction, environmental protection, culture, education, art, and sport. The partnership ties between the RSFSR and North Rhine-Westphalia are making an increasingly tangible contribution to the development and consolidation of cooperation between the USSR and the FRG.

The sides reaffirmed their mutual desire to seek new ways and forms of further developing relations between the RSFSR and North Rhine-Westphalia. These aims will be served in particular by the agreements elaborated on cooperation in various spheres. A.V. Vlasov drew the guest's attention to the profound transformations which are under way at present in all spheres of Soviet society's life. It was emphasized that the efforts to improve the economic mechanism and state management, the broad development of democracy and glasnost, the efforts to create a socialist rule-of-law state, and many other aspects of perestroyka are creating new opportunities for the development of the economic and social life of the republic and the expansion of its external ties.

An exchange of opinions was also held on certain aspects of the current international situation and questions of ensuring peace and security on the European continent. The sides noted with satisfaction the successful progressive development of Soviet-West German relations. This was borne out by H. Kohl's visit to the Soviet Union and M.S. Gorbachev's return visit to the FRG.

The significance which the Soviet Union attaches to relations with the FRG and other West European states and to building the common Euroepan home, which would be unthinkable without the active collaboration of our two states, was stressed.

Taking part in the conversation were A.A. Khomyakov, chairman of the RSFSR State Planning Committee; V.M. Vinogradov, RSFSR foreign minister; and K. Blech, FRG ambassador to the USSR.

Primakov, Maslyukov Meet Rau

LD2511071689 Moscow TASS in English 2315 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—Politburo member, First Deputy Soviet Prime Minister and Chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee Yuriy Maslyukov received Minister-President of North Rhine-Westphalia (West Germany) Johannes Rau.

Development of the partnership relations in economy was discussed and a memorandum on long-term cooperation in technology of environmental protection was signed.

Alternate Politburo member and Russian Federation Prime Minister Aleksandr Vlasov held his concluding talk with Johannes Rau on Friday.

The results of the business meetings and negotiations were summed up. Their concrete and constructive character was noted with satisfaction.

The sides were unanimous in saying that the deepening cooperation between the Russian Federation and the North-Rhine Westphalia land was played an ever growing role in the development of Soviet-West German relations.

Vlasov and Rau signed a joint statement on expansion of cooperation and development of friendly relations between the Russian Federation and North-Rhine Westphalia. Documents to broaden relations in Economy, culture, education and sports were also signed.

USSR Supreme Soviet Council of the Union chairman and alternate Politburo member Yevgeniy Primakov met minister president of North Rhine-Westphalia Johannes-Rau on Friday afternoon.

Rau left the Soviet Union on Friday evening. Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev sent him a friendly message praising the results of Rau's meetings and negotiations in Moscow, his efforts aimed at developing Soviet-West German relations and wished him every success.

At the airport he was seen off by Vlasov and other officials.

Vlasov, Rau Open Exhibition

PM2711145589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Nov 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "New Boost"]

[Text] The "North Rhine-Westphalia Days of Meetings and Information in the USSR" exhibition seminar opened in Moscow 23 November. A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers, and J. Rau, prime minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, who arrived in our country the day before at the invitation of the RSFSR Government, took part in the opening ceremony.

We regard this seminar, A.V. Vlasov said, as an important event in relations between the RSFSR and the Land of North Rhine-Westphalia and the continuation of the good tradition of mutual familiarization of our countries' peoples with one another's life and achievements. It arouses deserved interest in Soviet specialists.

In the last few years, the chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers continued, a great deal has been done to strengthen Soviet-FRG cooperation in various spheres—the economy, culture, science, education, and sports. However, I must note that not all the opportunities presented by the economic reform in our country have been utilized.

Now that the world community is moving on to political dialogue on everything that concerns peoples' security and overcoming confrontation, A.V. Vlasov stressed, the idea of a common European home is assuming increasing significance. I believe that today's event will be another foundation stone.

The West German side expressed the hope that these information days will initiate new contacts between the enterprises of North Rhine-Westphalia and their Soviet colleagues, which will undoubtedly be of mutual advantage to our countries.

Falin, Rau Meeting

PM2711124989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Friendly Conversation"]

[Text] A meeting took place 23 November between V.M. Falin, head of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, and J. Rau, prime minister of North Rhine-Westphalia (FRG) and deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party, who is in the USSR at the invitation of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers.

In the course of a friendly converstion they broached a number of questions concerning the contemporary international situation.

Joint Environmental Projects Planned

AU2411123389 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 24 Nov 89 p 6

[DDP report: "Duesseldorf and Soviet Union Plan Environmental Projects"]

[Text] Duesseldorf—North Rhine-Westphalia and the Soviet Union want closer cooperation in environmental protection: Enterprises from this land agreed with the

Soviet Union on large-scale technological environmental projects valued at an approximate total of DM1.6 billion. As Environment Minister Klaus Matthiesen (Social Democratic Party of Germany) reported after his trip to Moscow in Duesseldorf on 20 November, leading environmental protection enterprises signed agreements to this effect with Soviet ministries last week. The reorganization of the Magnitogorsk metallurgical plant, the establishment of desulfurization and denitrification facilities in four power plants, and the recultivation of several coal regions are planned.

German-Soviet Friendship Society Statement

LD1711221689 Moscow TASS in English 2110 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] West Berlin November 17 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Pavlyushin:

The USSR's constructive approach to disarmament problems, economic reforms and democratisation of political life in that country are exerting a strong positive impact on the Western public, removing the "enemy image" and creating a reliable foundation for broader relations with the Soviet Union in all areas. This is said in a special statement which was adopted at a conference of the German-Soviet friendship society of West Berlin.

The society members feel concern that the pace of advancement along the lines of disarmament does not meet the expectations of the Europeans, the document stresses.

For Europe to have stable peace it is necessary to rid it of weapons of mass destruction, to have substantial cuts in conventional armaments and military expenditures.

The signing of the INF Treaty was unfortunately followed only by the USSR's unilateral steps in disarmament. We demand concrete disarmament initiatives from both sides, the statement says.

The society members expressed concern over the mounting wave of right-wing extremism in West Berlin and West Germany. Representatives of the right-wing radical republican party are already sitting at the chamber of deputies (parliament) of West Berlin and a number of West German land parliaments.

On the eve of the 45th anniversary of Germany's liberation from fascism, our society's democratic forces should see to it that Nazis should have no chance for a place in the political life of the city, the document says.

Silayev Arrives in Bonn for Visit, Discussions

LD2711234189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2300 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, has arrived in Bonn on a visit. He will meet with leading representatives of business circles in the FRG and will visit several firms. It is intended to have a meeting with Kohl, Federal Chancellor of the FRG. The implementation of the accords reached during the summit visit of Chancellor Kohl to the USSR, and of that of Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet to the FRG, will be examined. Also, plans and methods of work in the intergovrnmental commissions will be coordinated and ways for further stepping up and expanding economic and scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries will also be sought.

Thatcher Remarks on European Developments Cited

PM2411202389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Nov 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Interview with M. Thatcher"]

[Text] London, 24 Nov—The West "should not take any steps that could complicate" the democratization processes taking place in the USSR and the countries of East Europe. However, it should continue to maintain strong defenses, since the "time when the ice thaws and breaks up can be very dangerous." Those were the main points of the interview with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher published by THE TIMES.

Welcoming the changes in the socialist countries, the head of the British Government pointed to the immense importance of the policy of perestroyka and glasnost in the USSR, and called the plans set out in M.S. Gorbachev's speeches "fantastic" in their conceptual power. Talking about discussions currently widespread in the West about the possibility of "German reunification," the prime minister stressed that this question is "not currently on the agenda."

Answering a question about London's attitude to U.S. statements about possible Pentagon defense spending cuts, M. Thatcher stressed that such cuts could only happen in a year's time and that the United States' West European allies should not follow suit. "I do not think that there will be any difficulties over the reduction of the U.S. presence in Europe," she said. According to THE TIMES, citing British officials, during M. Thatcher's talks today with U.S. President G. Bush the prime minister will try to obtain guarantees from the White House that the possible cut in Pentagon military spending will not lead to an "erosion" of Washington's "commitments" to West Europe.

Comment on Howe's 'Common European Home' Speech

LD2111224989 Moscow TASS in English 1953 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS—By political observer Yuriy Kornilov:

Most observers, commenting on the rapid changes in East European countries, agree that the democratisation in those countries and their greater openness promote the implementation of the idea of a common European home.

British Deputy Prime Minister Sir Geoffrey Howe agrees with this in principle, although he has his own view of the situation.

Speaking recently at Cambridge University, Howe said: "The 'common European home' which Mr. Gorbachev so often, and so understandably, proclaims is being created before our very eyes.

"But it is a home of Western design, which repudiates the precepts of communism at every turn."

However, the idea of building such a home was put forward not in Western Europe but in its eastern part, in Moscow, although the Soviet Union does not claim to be its only designer and architect.

More importantly, Howe in his Cambridge speech set forth a definite concept which, if implemented, would undermine the idea of a common European home, rather than develop it.

What is the Europe of today? It is a conglomeration of tens of sovereign and equal countries which, by joint efforts, have achieved real, substantial successes in security, human rights and economic and cultural cooperation.

The positive changes, mentioned above, have become possible due to the combination of common principles and diverse national interests of all European countries.

But can the further strengthening of these benefical tendencies and the development of the Helsinki process, without which the construction of a common European home would be impossible, be combined with the artificial limitation of the freedom of choice of a sociopolitical system and views?

A common European home is called so because it can and should host all countries, all European peoples peacefully coexisting, developing and cooperating in conditions of stability.

There is no need to prove the fallacy of the idea that one standard social design, common to all, must be accepted by all the European countries.

Is it possible at all to claim, without ignoring historical experience and present-day realities, that a common European home should be build only on the basis of Western standards?

The level of openness and mutual understanding, achieved in Europe, makes it possible to move further—to the building of confidence and interaction.

But this does not mean that each country, each people will not preserve their allegiance to their basic, historically determined values, to their culture and traditions.

Following Howe's idea, it is a "British home" or a "NATO home" that is being built in Europe, rather than a common European home. This idea is hardly promising.

The change from accusations of "the export of revolution" to appeals for "the export of capitalism" is a dangerous product of old thinking, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev told French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas recently.

UK Deputy Chief of Defense Staff Meets Moiseyev

PM2811121589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Nov 89 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Paying Visit"]

[Text] On 26 November General Sir Richard Vincent, British first deputy chief of the Defense Staff, arrived in Moscow for a visit. He was greeted at the airport by Colonel General B.A. Omelichev, first deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff. The welcoming party included Brigadier A. Fife, military attache at the British Embassy in the USSR.

On 27 November Gen Vincent was received by Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, and met with Col Gen Omelichev. On the same day the British visitor addressed the professors and teaching staff and students of the M.V. Frunze Military Academy.

Mitterrand Cited on East European Developments

PM2811141189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Dispatch by Yu. Kovalenko: "France: All Europe Has Been Set in Movement"]

[Excerpts] Paris—Never has France paid so much attention as now to the unprecedented events taking place in the socialist countries, the course of perestroyka in the Soviet Union, the entire complex of East-West relations, and the future of Europe. [passage omitted]

"All Europe has been set in motion," the French head of state notes. "New centers of strength are emerging and we are entering a period which will be characterized by considerable tension. Crises and antagonisms are possible and under these conditions," he stresses, "we must remain cool."

The president considers the EC to be a stabilizing factor. That is why he is seeking to step up integration in all fields and its speediest completion. At the same time F. Mitterrand is convinced that West Europe's integration is only a stage toward the complete unification of all Europe.

With FRG Chancellor H. Kohl and a number of other Western leaders the French president is most consistently advocating that aid be given to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. It was F. Mitterrand who acted as the initiator of the creation of the West European development and modernization bank for East Europe and of its granting of observer status in the IMF and GATT. We have broad political, economic, and

cultural links with the socialist countries, he said, but we must expand trade, and for that our entire country's participation is essential.

In the president's immediate entourage—and, I think, with his agreement—voices are being heard increasingly frequently demanding the revision of the restrictive rules of the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls on trade with the socialist countries. Thus, Economy, Finance, and Budget Minister P. Beregovoy stated recently that some of these rules relate to the worst times of the "cold war."

In recent interviews F. Mitterrand has again stressed M.S. Gorbachev's role in the perestroyka of the entire socialist world which, in his opinion, has become the most important event since the end of World War II. F. Mitterrand considers one of the main conditions of the success of perestroyka to be political and military stability on our continent. That is why he is against artificially accelerating the processes taking place in East Europe. Thus, for instance, the president has repeatedly indicated that the unification of Germany is not an urgent problem.

The year which is ending, people on the banks of the Seine are stressing, has been exceptionally fruitful for the development of East-West relations on the political, economic, and military planes. It will be crowned by an important series of visits and summit meetings to be held in the next few days. Finally, there is real hope that mankind will enter the nineties having finally overcome the protracted "cold war" period.

Third Round of Negotiations With EC Begins

LD2411001389 Moscow TASS in English 1415 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Brussels November 22 TASS—The third round of negotiations on a trade and economic cooperation agreement between the European Communities and the Soviet Union began today at the headquarters of the European Communities here.

The delegations are led by Ivan Ivanov, deputy chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Geanluigi Giola, assistant general director of the European Communities Commission's chief board for external relations. They will continue to discuss the main aspects of the draft agreement which will be the most comprehensive document ever signed by the European Community.

The negotiations, which began this July, have already defined the areas of future cooperation. They include statistics, standardisation, nuclear energy, investment, science and technology, transport services and protection of the environment. The sides have reached agreement in principle to grant each other most favoured nation status.

They have reached agreement on problems of arbitrage and protection of intellectual property. There are still several problems, however, requiring further discussion. Some of them are linked with Western restrictions on trade with socialist countries and quotas on reciprocal goods deliveries.

USSR, EC End Talks on Cooperation Agreement

LD2811133889 Moscow TASS in English 1306 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Brussels November 28 TASS—By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shashkov:

The Soviet Union and the European Community completed talks, started in July, on drafting an agreement on trade and economic cooperation. The text of the document, coordinated by the two delegations, proceeds from the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and other CSCE documents, and the joint declaration on establishing official relations between the CMEA and EC. It will be handed over to the relevant bodies of the Soviet Union and the European Community.

The sides said in the joint communique, published here, that the talks passed "in a constructive and friendly atmosphere," prompting their quick completion.

The draft agreement envisages the sides granting each other most favoured nation status in trade. The terms closely resemble those accepted by the world's major trading countries under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

The delegations were led by Ivan Ivanov, deputy chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Geanluigi Giola, deputy director general for foreign relations of the European Commission. A list of quotas on Soviet imports to EC countries that are to be phased out was finalised. A year after the agreement takes effect, nearly half of these quotas will be abolished. By 1995 they will be almost completely phased out.

An agreement was reached on prices in mutual trade, cooperation between customs services, arbitration and assistance to businessmen and companies.

The Soviet Union and the European Community will cooperate in statistics, standardisation of norms, industry, raw materials, mining, agriculture, food industry, environmental protection, energy—including nuclear—science, technology, insurance, banking, transport, tourism, management and vocational training.

Cooperation with the European Community will complement Soviet Union's economic relations with individual EC countries.

The draft of the agreement, which is likely to be in force for 10 years, is based on a balance of the sides' interests and is mutually advantageous. Its signing gives a firm legal basis to relations between the USSR and the EC

and marks an important step towards the integration of the Soviet Union into the system of international economic cooperation.

Meeting of NATO Leaders Opens in Brussels

LD2711163789 Moscow TASS in English 1332 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Brussels November 27 TASS—By TASS Correspondent, Valeriy Shashkov:

A meeting of NATO's European group at the level of defense ministers opened today a series of autumn sessions of the North Atlantic Alliance's leading bodies.

The Military Committee also met today. It is attended by the chiefs of general staffs and commanders of the alignment's regional forces.

The Military Planning Committee will meet tomorrow. It will be attended by NATO defence ministers.

A session of the NATO Council at the level of foreign ministers will be held from December 14 to 15.

These meetings will concentrate mainly on East-West relations and on the elaboration of the alliance's strategic line towards changes in socialist countries. They will discuss the progress of the Vienna negotiations on conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe and questions of redistributing obligations and tasks among NATO members in the event of an agreement on the reduction of armaments.

Commentators note that the current series of meetings is particularly important in the light of the forthcoming meeting between Presidents Gorbachev and Bush, which might give a fresh impulse to the process of relaxation.

Common Market Summit 'Extraordinary Event'

PM2411095189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own Correspondent V. Bolshakov article: "'Mitterrand's Binomial Theorem,' or What the EEC Summit Showed"]

[Text] Paris, Nov—The "12-nation business lunch at the Elysee Palace," as journalists in Paris christened the Common Market summit last weekend at the official residence of President Mitterrand of France, was clearly an extraordinary event.

Observers note three aspects which ensured a place in history for that lunch in Paris. First, the leaders of the Common Market countries gathered for an extraordinary conference at the behest of the French President at short notice—to discuss changes taking place in the USSR and other Warsaw Pact states. That emphasizes not only the great significance that the West attaches to these changes but also the leading role of France and of President Mitterrand personally in the European Community.

Second, even though Washington supported the Paris initiative from the very outset and approved the decisions taken at the "business lunch," this is the first time in the history of postwar East-West relations that the EC has set aside all its differences and is unanimously elaborating an independent political course toward the East European countries and the Soviet Union and a corresponding economic policy without U.S. involvement. Special significance is being attached to that fact prior to the summit between the USSR and U.S. leaders on Malta.

Third, having recognized the principle of the inviolability of the existing borders in Europe and confirmed that the countries of the West must form their policy in accordance with their commitments to NATO and that the countries of the East should do likewise with regard to the Warsaw Pact, the participants in the EEC conference in Paris nevertheless objectively acknowledged the concept of a single common European home and proclaimed the principle of the interdependence of the "two Europes." The essence of this new concept is expressed by what may now with complete justification be called the "Mitterrand binomial." Unlike Newton's binomial [theorem] it has nothing to do with mathematics and was expressed by the President thus: "The evolution of the East, on the one hand, and the integration of the West, on the other, are an indivisible binomial."

The actual decisions taken in Paris envisage mandating a working group comprising the "West European troika" (France, Ireland, and Spain) and Jacques Delors, chairman of the EC Commission, to conduct a preliminary examination of the possibility of creating a "European development and modernization bank for Eastern Europe," intended to finance various projects, first and foremost in Poland and Hungary. At the same time it is proposed to create a fund to provide training in the West for specialists from the socialist countries. The Delors commission has also been instructed to develop a new form of cooperation between the Common Market and each East European country individually. At the same time it was reemphasized that it is necessary to respect the interests of those countries and of the USSR when seeking to help the CEMA countries and organize their cooperation and not try to draw the CEMA members "one by one" into the Common Market.

The decisions taken in Paris, of course, cannot be considered final. They are rather a statement of intention and a proclamation of a political course. Especially since the position taken in particular by France has aroused criticism here from both right and left.

The leaders of France's rightwing parties criticize the President, for example, for not taking a more active stance on the changes taking place in the socialist countries and not seeking to encourage them in a direction favorable to the West. French communists, on the other hand, have criticized the "position of diktat" which they

believe the Common Market has taken. As L'HUMANITE notes, this diktat was shown in particular in President Mitterrand's press conference comment that the West will help to establish the kind of economy in the Eastern countries which is impossible "without a return to democracy based on respect for human rights and free and secret elections."

There is no doubt that the EEC political course toward the socialist countries worked out in Paris is not final and will change more than once depending on events in our country and in theirs. In any event it is important that the Paris conference emphasized the need to make active use of the Helsinki CSCE mechanism when resolving questions affecting all the European countries—both East and West. In that respect "Mitterrand's binomial theorem" is incontestable.

TASS Comments on Malta's Neutrality, Role

LD2711035289 Moscow TASS in English 1119 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Sergey Kulik:

Over the last decade Malta has developed from NATO's 'unsinkable aircraft carrier' into a nonaligned neutral state which actively advocates making the Mediterranean a zone of peace.

Upon having got rid of foreign military bases and soldiers on its territory, this island republic began to convert its economy to civilian uses.

It is symbolic therefore that Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President George Bush will have a shipboard meeting, which will deal with further demilitarisation of the planet, precisely in the territorial waters of this state.

It is difficult to disagree with the opinion of Prime Minister Edward Fenech Adami of Malta that his country has been chosen as a venue for the summit meeting because Malta pursues an equal policy of friendship with all countries without exception.

Only recently Malta was reckoned a fortress island and NATO's main bulwark in the Mediterranean. The huge Floriana Palace housed the headquarters of NATO's allied naval forces in the southern zone of Europe.

A marine base was located at St. Andrew's. There were airforce bases at Madalena and Luqa and a bombing practice ground for aicraft at Filfa. Ships of the U.S. Sixth Fleet were constantly in the offing at the roadstead of Valletta.

Watching the Western countries' military activity in Maltese territorial waters, the people of Malta arrived at a conclusion that nuclear-armed ships not so much defended their security as posed a threat to it. In the end the Maltese people secured the elimination of all NATO facilities on its territory by 1979.

That was a bold step also because the economic stability of Malta, as it seemed to many at that time, depended to a large extent on the existence of military bases.

The Maltese treasury had an annual revenue of 28 million pounds sterling from NATO for the use of naval and port facilities, and from Britain as funds spent by British servicemen and members of their families.

Work at military facilities provided means of subsistence for many residents of the island. Many in the West predicted that 'demilitarisation—Maltese style' would result in a collapse of the Maltese economy.

However, the forecasts proved wrong. Up to 300 merchant, passenger and fishing vessels of all countries are now repaired at the Maltese docks which are the Mediterranean's largest and which once serviced only NATO ships. New ships are also being built there, including timber carriers for the Soviet Union.

Maltese sewing-industry workers who once engaged in the manufacture of military uniform found jobs in the shops of a newly founded Blue Bell company which within a short period of time became of the world's major producers of jean clothes.

The service sector switched over to cater for tourists, of whom up to 750,000 visit Malta in some years. All this made it possible to reduce unemployment almost by 80 per cent. The per capita average income of Maltese people has markedly grown.

Upon tasting the fruit of such a policy, the Maltese people unanimously supported the principled amendment, introduced in January 1987 to the republic's Constitution. Its essence is that in its foreign policy Malta will adhere to the status of neutrality on the basis of nonaligned policy and renunciation of the deployment of foreign military bases on its territory.

The Maltese are fond of saying that their country, despite its small size, has always played a marked role in 'big' politics. This time, too, as local newspaper write, Malta is again moving onto the proscenium of history.

Latin America & Caribbean

U.S. Said 'Fueling' El Salvador Conflict

PM2911093789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[Vadim Listov "Correspondent's Commentary": "Alarming Signs"]

[Text] Mexico City—The routine 18th conference of Latin American army representatives has been held in the Guatemalan capital. They did not just express solidarity with the El Salvador Armed Forces. It was categorically declared that "in the present military situation, the conference participants perceive the Salvadoran Army as... the victor."

It is not surprising that El Salvador's army bosses, rejecting all continuation of dialogue with the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), are drawing self-confidence also from the "moral support" loudly expressed by representatives of military circles from a number of Western Hemisphere countries. It is, after all, no secret that these meetings, held once every 2 years, are used by leaders of the U.S. and some other Latin American countries' armed forces to "fine-tune" the strategy of counteracting the national liberation movement.

It would not be so bad if matters went no further than just "moral support." Facts indicate, however, that the talk of "defending Salvadoran democracy" conceals a real danger that the present armed conflict could be internationalized. Alarming signs to this effect are already appearing.

The public's attention was attracted, for example, by a press report that a subunit of 126 Guatemalan servicemen, specially trained for antipartisan warfare, was transferred a few days ago to El Salvador to provide support (far from "moral") to army units hard-pressed by FMLN fighters. As for Washington, instead of helping to douse the Salvadoran fire, it is actually fueling it. No sooner had El Salvador's Government asked for "already approved" military deliveries to be speeded up than Washington gave an immediate, positive response.

Even though there are no U.S. soldiers in El Salvador yet, there are U.S. military advisers participating directly in combat operations against the insurgents. It was no accident that a few days ago Senator Edward Kennedy compared last September's U.S. Senate decision to give El Salvador increased and totally unconditional military aid to the notorious "Tonkin Resolution," which paved the way for the U.S. armed intervention in Vietnam.

U.S. Aid to El Salvador Denounced

PY2811153989 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Spanish 0330 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] The Salvadoran Government has rejected the proposal for an immediate cease-fire from the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN], according to Mauricio Sandoval, Salvadoran minister of culture and communications. Sandoval was interviewed by the U.S. news agency UPI.

The Salvadoran patriots made this proposal in response to the OAS recommendation regarding the Salvadoran situation. The recommendation calls for an immediate return to negotiations. Bishop Gregorio Rosa Chavez offered his good offices. Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez has also joined the group of people who are trying to stop the violence in El Salvador. On Tuesday, 21 November, Perez met with officials of the Cristiani administration, namely Justice Minister Oscar Santamaria and Minister of Presidency (Juan Padela).

According to Carlos Andres Perez, he also talked with his Salvadoran counterpart Alfredo Cristiani on the phone. In the course of this talk he offered to host a Caracas meeting between the Salvadoran Government and the rebels.

It would seem that because of the negative attitude of Cristiani's administration, all these efforts have not yielded the expected fruits. The fact is that the Salvadoran Government is trying to worsen the terror. With this in mind, the government is drafting a law to punish the opposition. As a preventive measure, congress has already approved antiterrorist bills. These bills allow the arrest of people on suspicion of antigovernment activities.

A Salvadoran deputy has labeled these bills unconstitutional and contrary to human rights. Meanwhile, these bills have encouraged the accursed death squads. Americas Watch, a human rights organization, has reported an increase of [word indistinct], arrests of, and threats against foreigners who work for religious and humanitarian organizations in El Salvador.

The Salvadoran Human Rights Commission believes that the crusade against foreign missionaries is encouraged by the ultrarightists who are operating under the protection of the government. The government guarantees the reactionaries their impunity.

Death squads, working closely with reactionary military men and the Cristiani administration, are most certainly to blame for the recent disgraceful murder of six priests in El Salvador, according to the U.S. publication THE BOSTON GLOBE. The paper states that this is obvious to all and that the Salvadoran regime and the Yankee government are the only ones that refuse to admit it.

From their point of view this attitude is reasonable. Washington's policy toward El Salvador is based on the ultrarightwing forces [words indistinct]. THE BOSTON GLOBE adds that every year the taxpayers take out of their pockets $500 million to finance the assistance that the U.S. Government gives to El Salvador. Some of this money goes to the death squads which are guilty of thousands of murders commited amid hellish tortures. It is a significant piece of information.

The thing is that U.S. officials prefer to lash out at the fictitious shipments of Soviet weapons to El Salvador, fictitious because there have been none at all. On the other hand, the use that successive Salvadoran regimes have made of U.S. aid, has always been downplayed. However, it is obvious that without the hefty U.S. subsidies, the Salvadoran conflict would have been resolved a long time ago and the nearly 100,000 Salvadorans who have died in the struggle would still be alive.

Salvadoran Situation, Malta Summit Viewed

PY2811155989 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2100 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] According to some sources, in the past few days more than 1,000 people have died in El Salvador after the intensification of fighting between government forces and the guerrillas. Mikhail Mayorov filed this report:

The horrifying reports published by THE NEW YORK TIMES give an appropriate idea of the tragedy in El Salvador, where a civil war is ravaging the country. On the outskirts of San Salvador, where the fight is being waged, the people are forced to burn dead bodies right in front of their houses.

The victims are not only soldiers and guerrillas, who are directly involved in the conflict, but also civilians, whose houses are hit by bombs and projectiles. The civilians are constantly threatened by the bullies of the so-called death squads, who murdered six Catholic priests at the San Salvador University campus.

The Salvadoran situation, which has caused serious concern, cannot be regarded as something commonly referred to as [words indistinct]. The interdependence of the world now seems to be stronger than ever. We have finally understood the meaning of the old saying that there is no isolated tragedy. We feel increasingly responsible for what is happening in the so-called hot spots of the planet.

Obviously, the first thing to be done to normalize the situation is to stem the direct and indirect flow of military supplies to both sides.

Moscow has already taken this position. However, U.S. President George Bush has termed inadmissible the possibility of halting the aid to the government of Alfredo Cristiani.

If we compare the Salvadoran and the Afghan situations, why does the U.S. Administration so bitterly repproach us for helping the Najibullah regime?

(?We) have unfortunately not yet adopted general criteria.

Our foreign policy is consistent, Mayorov says. In my opinion, Soviet diplomacy has a more flexible attitude toward the current situation in El Salvador. The Soviet Government has abandoned its conservative stand, which made us support just one side. In the final analysis, the war is a tragedy for all the people, and the magnitude of the tragedy grows as the conflict becomes more serious.

The Salvadoran conflict will reflect the willingness that Moscow and Washington have to help a small nation, which is tired of a longstanding conflict, find a way towards peace.

All of us are waiting for the Soviet-U.S. summit, which will be held off the coast of Malta. It is difficult to imagine the issues that will be on the agenda because the meeting will be unofficial [as heard].

There are many issues that may be addressed in a bilateral summit. It is highly desirable, however, that both sides reach an understanding and that they identify the possibilities of cooperation for the resolution of the Central American problem.

Foreign Ministry Official on Central America

PY2811122289 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2100 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] The escalating military action in El Salvador is a source of growing concern throughout the world. There are urgent requests for a negotiated solution for all of Central America. This issue has been discussed at the news conference that Yuriy Pavlov, chief of the First Latin American Department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, granted to Soviet journalists. He said:

[Begin Pavlov recording in Russian fading into Spanish translation] I believe that there is a (?growing) understanding that it is necessary to resolve the problems that [words indistinct]. Each country is different. Each country has its own problems that have come about as the inevitable result of so many years of civil war. This is the case of Nicaragua and El Salvador.

Even though it seems sometimes that all efforts are in vain, one can be sure that these efforts will continue and that sooner or later, peace will come to that region. [end recording]

The Radio Moscow correspondent asked Yuriy Pavolv the following question: Over recent years, events have shown that the Soviet Union and the United States can help resolve regional conflicts. Today we can see this process has been halted in various hot spots throughout the world. What are the points of agreement and disagreement between the Soviet Union and the United States especially regarding an agreement in Central America?

To this Yuriy Pavlov answered:

[Begin Pavlov recording in Russian fading into Spanish translation] The two countries clearly understand that the problems of that region must be resolved through agreements reached by the Central American countries themselves. No positive results can be obtained when foreign formulas are applied. Neither is there need for such formulas.

The Central American nations have drawn up a very detailed plan which, once implemented, should bring peace to Central America. Despite all difficulties, this plan is being carried out. The elections in Nicaragua are part of this plan. The Nicaraguan Government, in spite of the countermeasures it had to take to cope with the

ressurgence of the armed opposition, is guaranteeing the preparations for and the holding of free and democratic elections. [end recording]

Yuriy Pavlov also stressed that one of the key elements in the solution to the Central American situation is an agreement in El Salvador, where bitter battles are being fought. He said: We urge the contenders to stop fighting and start talking. On this we agree with the United States.

However, we cannot share or support the attitude of the United States regarding lending support to the Salvadoran Government, which is currently conducting repressive actions against the Salvadoran people.

In sum, we agree with the United States that the pledges and agreements of the Guatemala procedures cited in Tela, Honduras, must be complied with as a way of resolving the situation in the region. We are sure that sooner or later these efforts will bring peace to Central America.

USSR-Costa Rica Talks View C. America Conflict

PM2911113389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] San Jose, 28 Nov—Topical questions of international politics were the focus of attention for the participants in Soviet-Costa Rican political consultations held in the Costa Rican capital. During these consultations Oscar Arias Sanchez, president of this Central American country, received Ya.A. Burlyay, special representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry, and V.L. Rozanov, Soviet ambassador to Costa Rica.

At the consultations special attention was focused on the problem of settling the Central American conflict. The sides were unanimous that this conflict can be settled only by peaceful, political means.

The two countries' representatives noted that it is necessary to step up direct diplomatic contacts between the USSR and Costa Rica with a view to making a more effective contribution to the establishment of a stable peace in the region.

Supreme Soviet Session

Deputies Clash Over Draft Press Bill 24 Nov

PM2811161989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
26 Nov 89 Morning Edition pp 1, 2

[Parliamentary correspondents V. Dolganov and A. Stepovoy report under the rubric "At the Second Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet": "Draft Law on Press Under Discussion"]

[Text] In all probability, no draft law among those examined at our parliament's current session has had as mysterious and confused as passage as the draft Law on the Press and Other Mass Media. At the very start of the session, before it was even officially opened and while work was still being done in committees and commissions, IZVESTIYA informed its readers of the document's advanced state of readiness, on the basis of the opinion of members of several USSR Supreme Soviet bodies. The document's title appeared repeatedly on the tentative timetable of the session's work, which was reissued on numerous occasions, but matters never reached the point of its examination. Both we and many deputies were distressed and puzzled by an incident which occurred 23 November when, just 24 hours before the examination of what already appeared to be the finalized draft, which had been distributed among the session participants in good time, a different document was circulated—not the one the relevant committees had examined—whose authorship became clear only at the plenary sitting. But we'll come back to this a little later....

Now we must turn back to the first item on the agenda for 24 November, the session's fifth straight working day this week. As we reported in our previous dispatch, it examined the draft Law on Economic Autonomy of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], Latvian SSR, and Estonian SSR. The sharp debate, with A.K. Orlov, V.S. Advadze, B.N. Yeltsin, V.I. Samarin, V.I. Yarovoy, A.A. Plotnieks, M.Yu. Yusupov, L.I. Sukhov, R.A. Ubaydullayeva, N.N. Engver, and others speaking after the first break, ended by making a decision: All who spoke during the parliamentary debates should submit their suggestions and additions in written form to the committees and commissions which have already worked on the draft law. The final version of the document will be prepared on the basis of the first version which was already approved on first reading by the first session. It should be presented to deputies on Sunday and submitted for discussion on Monday, as proposed by M.S. Gorbachev.

The chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet briefly summed up the results of the debate on this question.

The evening plenary sitting (with A.I. Lukyanov in the chair) finally got to the draft Law on the Press and Other Mass Media. By tradition, comments on the draft law were presented by representatives of the committee which had worked on it. G.Kh. Shakhnazarov, deputy chairman of the Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, was the first to be given the floor.

Having briefly mentioned the importance of the draft law now under consideration, the deputy noted: Censorship has raged throughout the country's entire history, with the exception of a few isolated periods, and free speech could see the light of day only by means of incredible tricks. One of the gravest manifestations of the administrative edict system and the authoritarian regime of power was the fact that we found ourselves cut off from spiritual processes taking place in the world. The draft law that has been submitted is not an ordinary, run-of-the-mill legislative act. It ranks with those which are conventionally described as constitutional or organic laws since they extend and amplify the principles of the constitutional structure. From this viewpoint, the Law on the Press and Other Mass Media equals the Law on Ownership in importance. These two documents are inseparably linked, because scope can be given to labor initiative and enterprise only if the country enjoys genuine, full freedom of information. The opposite is also true—freedom of the press is possible only if it is bolstered by the development of economic initiative.

G.Kh. Shakhnazarov outlined the history of the draft's creation, emphasizing: The document which caused the dispute at the 23 November plenary sitting and which, as the speaker noted, bore no signatures of committee chairmen was printed and distributed to deputies because the version which the committees had circulated had not taken into account all the remarks and amendments.

Next to mount the rostrum was B.N. Nikolskiy, deputy chairman of the Committee for Questions of Glasnost and Citizens' Rights and Appeals. Emphasizing the importance of glasnost in the development of the perestroyka process and the building of a rule-of-law state, he noted that the question of the possession of information is actually a question of power, and then substantiated this point of view in detail.

I have no desire to whip up passions about the appearance of the second draft law, he said, but I will merely remark that it sets a lamentable precedent. Amendments were introduced totally without the knowledge of our committee, they were not discussed in our committee. Furthermore, they were introduced in this way because it was known that they would encounter resistance from the Committee on Glasnost. Comparing articles in the two documents, he upheld his committee's stance. He then dwelt in detail on Article 43 of the new version, which, in committee members' opinion, is a veiled attempt to retain censorship in the guise of the "need for coordination" [soglasovaniye].

Since Deputy N.V. Fedorov had voiced criticism on 23 November, he was given the floor (a request to that effect was contained in a memorandum addressed to the presidium by nine journalist deputies). He traced the

history of work on the draft right from the first session. The version that has been submitted, N.V. Fedorov believes, alters the concept of the document and buries from the very outset the article on freedom of the press and the impermissibility of censorship, as well as a series of other most important articles.

Deputy L.V. Kravchenko disagreed in many respects with the previous speaker, and specifically with the interpretation of international legal norms and obligations provided by N.V. Fedorov with regard to the draft law. Without overdoing things from the viewpoint of ideologization, he emphasized, I would like to express my opinion that the draft law under discussion is one of the few laws that are truly ideological. Citing the need to manage ideological processes in the country, the deputy criticized a number of the draft's provisions and articles which had been upheld by B.N. Nikolskiy and N.V. Fedorov. It is wrong, for example, he believes, to give individual USSR citizens the right to found mass media. It is therefore necessary to precisely add to the draft law the relevant formulas of the Vienna agreement: Each USSR citizen has the right to obtain, possess, reproduce, and disseminate information material.

Deputy A.S. Yezhelev devoted his speech to the extent to which articles in the two draft laws conform to constitutional norms, emphasizing: In this regard, the alternative version is far from irreproachable. The most offensive point is that today, when society has recognized past mistakes and has embarked on a process of economic, political, and moral renewal, there is opposition to the revival of full individual rights. Why should we be scared of the citizen's right to express his opinion through his own source of information?

The next point. The working group constantly fought off attempts to legalize, in some form or other, advance censorship of mass information. We included an article preventing this in our draft, using as a guide the first Decree on the Press, signed by V.I. Lenin. The corresponding article in the amplified draft legalizes official arbitrariness capable of nullifying all the freedoms granted to the press by this law.

The deputy proposed that the amplified version be rejected. This act, A.S. Yezhelev believes, will affirm the Supreme Soviet's constitutional right to make laws in a parliamentary fashion, without attempts at backstage interference.

Deputy Ye.D. Pokhitaylo expressed fear that mass media might end up in the hands of persons enjoying unearned incomes if individual citizens are given the right to found them. He expressed amazement that neither draft has found room for Lenin's remarks on the press.

Deputy L.I. Batynskaya expressed alarm in a different context: The new version effectively gives the Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press the right to exercise censorship of any sort. We are trying to insinuate into the future a social institution which was abolished in Britain, for example, back in the 17th century. She is also worried by the existence of "regional ideology" registered by science, where local leaders determine what the mass media are allowed to say on the basis of their own intelligence, education, and even personal tastes.

Deputy V.A. Kuptsov drew the session participants' attention to the reticence about mutual relations between party committees and mass media and to other defects in the draft laws. He confirmed that the Supreme Soviet's committees and commissions did some serious work on the document. In my capacity as party Central Committee member, he went on, I had an opportunity to work on one of the draft's versions last year and early this year. The new draft law is more broadly based, takes into account a broad range of opinions, views, and positions, and is more in line with the spirit of the time. But it does need some additional work. The way the deputy sees it, the draft law is geared to the priority and special position of the mass media in society. One of its shortcomings is that it omits many of the basic political institutions, concepts, and principles reflected in the USSR Constitution. As a Communist, he said, I object to the fact that this document does not contain a single word about our supreme interests—the interests of the people and of socialism, the priority of the socialist choice and idea. Why are we ashamed of this word and afraid to emphasize our objectives in the draft law? It would only gain if its articles were to precisely formulate the goals and tasks stemming from our society's socialist nature.

The deputy proposed that the following formula be included in the draft: "The press, television, radio, and other mass media in the USSR are an institution of socialist democracy, an effective instrument of perestroyka and society's renewal, a means for expressing and shaping public opinion, and for ensuring glasnost and all-people's control of the state of affairs in the country." The deputy passed other specific proposals to the relevant committees.

Deputies A.M. Yemelyanov, M.N. Rakhmanova, T.M. Shamba, A.S. Potapov, and V.A. Volkov expressed their opinions on the draft. Following a short break, the session participants' work overran the schedule by more than 1 hour. Naturally, not all 63 deputies who had put down their names were able to speak. A.I. Lukyanov, who was in the chair, announced: Notes had been received from deputies asking that the floor be given to Deputy V.A. Medvedev.

A few more deputies got to speak before that. One of them—G.P. Kharchenko—voiced the fear that some grouping might take advantage of a democratic law to promote its own interests, and that clan interests might develop. Are we ready to adopt such a law? After all, the Americans, British, and Japanese manage without it.... Other doubts were expressed regarding some of the draft's articles. He believes, for example, that editorial collegium rights have been curtailed and there is not

even a mention of the rights of the vast Army of worker-peasant correspondents and other aktiv members. Let us look at the article on mutual relations between founder, editorial office, and publishers. Having founded a newspaper, the actual founder has just one opportunity to influence his organ: To approve the so-called editorial charter. What is this? What are its legal aspects? The draft, G.P. Kharchenko summed up, needs additional work from both the scientific and the legal points of view, especially as regards the impermissibility of any abuse of press freedom.

It is strange, Deputy Ye.A. Yevtushenko began his speech, that a draft law which contains a sentence about the absence of censorship is itself being censored in advance. What is our Supreme Soviet? It is a gigantic office with transparent walls through which the whole people can see everything that deputies do here. So how come our draft laws are constantly taken into offices with solid walls? Do you not find it paradoxical that, while the Law on the Press is being discussed, accredited Soviet photojournalists like Skurikhin from PRAVDA and Inyakin from IZVESTIYA are being kicked out of the hall? The Law on the Press is necessary against the background of the gross administrative dismissal of LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA's editor and frontline fighter Kolosov, against the background of constant pressure on the "View" and "600 Seconds" television programs, against the background of attempts to remove ARGUMENTY I FAKTY editor Starkov, KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE editor Averin, Noginsk City newspaper editor Puchkov, and many oblast and rayon journalists.

The adoption of the Law on the Press will be one of the main guarantees of perestroyka, of which the following was said yesterday on the Leningrad airwaves, along with insults against our president: "We shall not allow the ship of perestroyka to hit communism!" The first version as prepared by Fedorov's group, despite all its imperfections, is a major step forward. The second, with all its innocuous partial amendments, is a highly dubious and dangerous step backwards. I propose that the first version be put to the vote, while the second is treated as the product of a nonparliamentary lobby. The deputy proposed a whole series of amendments to the document and ended his speech to the sound of applause which, let us remind our readers yet again, is heard only rarely in the Supreme Soviet nowadays.

Deputy R.G. Kulakova examined the draft's articles which cover press distributors and their rights.

The floor was then given to Deputy V.A. Medvedev. I think that the adoption of the Law on the Press, he said, will be an exceptionally important landmark and action in our common movement toward a rule-of-law state and civil society. It seems to me that, on the one hand, this law must protect the profound changes which have occurred, are occurring, and will occur in the ideology and information sphere. On the other hand, it must also give a fresh impetus to this process and lay down its state and legal framework.

Having described the changes which have occurred in the information sphere during the years of perestroyka, the deputy noted: As in other aspects of renewal, we feel the effect of a certain gap separating the dismantling of the old and the birth of the new. The former methods of regulating the information sphere have fallen by the wayside while the new ones characteristic of a rule-of-law state either have yet to emerge or are being held back by old traditions which are becoming obsolete. On the other hand, a kind of "caisson disease" has developed, an intoxication with press freedom. Emancipation degenerates into license in some places, and there are other extremes. They take the form of group passions or of attempts to impose a specific point of view, to replace one half-truth by another, and to take advantage of glasnost for the satisfaction of personal ambitions, including some that are of an antisocialist nature. So-called informal and unregistered—in other words outside the law—publications are springing up like mushrooms after rain. There are several hundred of them in the country.

There is no need to absolutize the Law on the Press. Legal culture and firm democratic traditions are also important here. Everything depends mainly on the civic stance of journalists, editors, publishers, and founders. Nonetheless, the law is the main factor which regulates relations in the information sphere. Is the submitted draft law in line with these concepts? I believe that, in general, the reply to this question can be positive.

Even so, the deputy believes, it is necessary to eliminate the numerous contradictions and shortcomings in this document with due consideration for all points of view expressed during the preliminary discussion while the draft was still in preparation. I think that the nationwide discussion, he went on, will make it possible to hear the voice of the main protagonists—the actual people, the readers.

V.A. Medvedev supported a series of amendments submitted at the plenary sitting, agreeing in particular that Article 43 of the second draft law could give the impression of interference in the day-to-day work of mass media and some sort of advance censorship of materials.

Deputy A.G. Mukhtarov expressed indignation with Deputy G.P. Kharchenko's speech. Are all journalists really supposed to continue to work the way they did during the time of stagnation?

It finally came to the vote. The chairman proposed that the debate be concluded, that the draft Law on the Press and Other Mass Media be approved at first reading, and that committees be instructed to finalize it taking into account the remarks made at the session and with a view to publishing the draft in the press for nationwide discussion. Alas, the required quorum for making the decision was lacking, with only 339 deputies registered at the time. The conclusion of the debate was postponed until Monday.

But on which of the two drafts should deputies work? A.I. Lukyanov made this perfectly clear: The first, which bears the signatures of committee chairmen.

Plenary sittings will resume 27 November. Time is running out, and yet a large number of most serious questions remain to be covered during the scheduled 2 working days.

Moscow TV Airs 28 Nov Supreme Soviet Proceedings

1600 GMT

LD2811182989

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1600 GMT on 28 November begins broadcasting a recording from the USSR Supreme Soviet session 28 November at the Kremlin in Moscow. The session is chaired by Anatoliy Lukyanov, candidate Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. There are 391 deputies present.

Golik begins by putting forward a proposal on an amnesty for those who served in Afghanistan. At 1608 GMT Obolenskiy asks what analysis has been conducted and about the concept of premeditation in committing crimes. A deputy disagrees with the concept.

At 1612 GMT Sakharov raises the question of Soviet servicemen who are currently abroad. He says their amnesty should be unconditional so they do not fear returning home.

At 1615 GMT a deputy suggests that one of the articles is improperly drafted. Crimes committed for base reasons should not be eligible for amnesty.

At 1618 GMT a deputy in military uniform differentiates between military crimes and civilian ones.

At 1619 GMT Lukyanov provides details on the number of people involved and the crimes they have committed.

At 1621 GMT various deputies speak briefly from the floor.

At 1624 GMT Kim recalls previous amnesties in Afghanistan.

At 1626 GMT a representative of the committee seeking the release of Soviet POW's asks how they will be regarded on their return.

At 1628 GMT a youth representative, Tsybukh, gives young people's views.

At 1631 GMT a deputy refers to a briefing that was given in the Moskva Hotel on this subject. He says that all assistance should be given to facilitate the return of POW's.

At 1636 GMT a deputy proposes exceptions to the amnesty.

At 1639 GMT Finogenov speaks in favor of the amnesty.

At 1644 GMT Ochirov, in military uniform, voices approval of the amnesty.

At 1646 GMT various deputies discuss Article Four on excluding premeditated murder from the amnesty.

1650 GMT

LD2811192189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1650 GMT on 28 November continues its recording from the USSR Supreme Soviet session 28 November at the Kremlin in Moscow.

Continuing the debate on amnesty, Bichkauskas proposes a different wording for Article Four.

At 1652 GMT Odzhiyev opposes Article Four.

At 1653 GMT a deputy in uniform says it is difficult to differentiate between crimes, so Article Four should be excluded.

At 1656 GMT Sakharov voices his opposition to Article Four.

At 1657 GMT the nature of amnesties is discussed by an unidentified deputy.

At 1659 GMT Akhromeyev says Article Four should be dropped.

At 1701 GMT Lukyanov calls for a vote on Article Four. Two versions are proposed: First, that each case be examined individually; second, that the article be totally excluded.

At 1704 GMT a vote is taken on keeping Article Four: 64 in favor, 292 against, 29 abstentions.

At 1706 GMT there is a 15-minute break in the recorded relay.

At 1721 GMT the recorded relay resumes with a repeat of the vote taken at 1704 GMT.

At 1724 GMT an unidentified deputy speaks in favor of dropping Clause Three.

At 1725 GMT Lukyanov suggests voting on Clause Three as part of the whole bill. A vote is taken on keeping Clause Three as written: 230 for, 69 against, 70 abstentions. Lukyanov then presents the entire bill on amnesty for voting: 375 for, 2 against, 5 abstentions.

At 1729 GMT an unidentified deputy says the session needs to study the concept of military service.

At 1730 GMT Lukyanov present a draft bill on changes to article in criminal code dealing with procedures for handling criminal investigations, informing the accused of available information, and limiting terms of custody and remand.

At 1736 GMT debate begins on the draft bill.

At 1740 GMT Yeltsin asks for more detail.

1742 GMT

LD2811200789

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1742 GMT on 28 November continues its recording from the USSR Supreme Soviet session 28 November at the Kremlin in Moscow.

Continuing the debate about changes to the criminal code, there is a question posed about the retroactive nature of the proposal to limit terms of custody and other technical aspects.

At 1745 GMT Sakharov speaks on the plight of those in custody and the importance of assumption of innocence until sentencing.

At 1749 GMT Kugultinov speaks in the debate against the proposal.

At 1750 GMT an unidentified deputy in a merchant navy uniform speaks.

At 1751 GMT Golik speaks on the law and order aspects of the proposal, pointing to the importance of the innovation.

At 1754 GMT a vote is taken: 277 for, 46 against, 37 abstentions. There is a mistake in the voting so a vote is taken again: 293 for, 52 against, 28 abstentions.

At 1758 GMT Lukyanov announces that the bill has failed to pass in the Soviet of Nationaities. The Soviet of Nationalities will have to reconsider the bill separately. A vote is to be taken later.

At 1800 GMT Deputy Kisin reports on progress on the state enterprises industry bill.

At 1806 GMT a vote is taken taking note of Kisin's report: 315 for, 9 against, 22 abstentions.

At 1807 GMT Lukyanov warns deputies against leaving the chamber. A short closed session is to be held after a 15-minute break to discuss reports from various commissions. There is a break in the recorded relay.

At 1808 GMT the recorded relay resumes.

At 1812 GMT Lukyanov calls for registration: 356 present; 6 more are needed. Lukyanov says that more have arrived.

At 1814 GMT Tsybukh raises the Afghan amnesty issue again. He reads out an appeal from the USSR Supreme Soviet to foreign countries to aid the return of Soviet POW's.

At 1817 GMT registration is taken: 360 present.

At 1818 GMT Lukyanov says that two more have come in. Registration taken. Lukyanov says there is a quorum.

The POW appeal is put to the vote: 352 for, 0 against, 1 abstention. It is declared adopted.

At 1821 GMT Comrade Sukalo is proposed as candidate for deputy chairman of the Supreme Court: 330 for, 1 against, 13 abstentions.

At 1823 GMT Lukyanov introduces the last point on the agenda, the Law on Leave.

At 1824 GMT Biryukova gives a report on the law. He says workers' leave in the USSR has no coherent system at present. The new law is aimed at introducing rational norms. Biryukova says leave will increase with length of service and with difficult work conditions. Underground miners working shifts will have up to 70 days leave, which he says is in accordance with the agreement reached earlier with miners. No category of workers will have worse conditions of leave than before, but corrections will be made for certain individuals. He adds that maternity leave and other leave for social purposes will be improved. All maternity leave will be paid. More leave will be given for looking after children. He says conditions for invalids are being improved. Financial autonomous enterprises will be given the right to negotiate with workers on the question of leave. Biryukova outlines penalties for absenteeism and other improvements on leave provisions.

At 1859 GMT Biryukova is asked questions from the floor. Bichkauskas says he has trouble understanding one of the bill's clauses, and asks whether leave will be decreased for procuracy investigation workers. Biryukova suggests he ask the specific committees for details. These are other questions from the floor. Biryukova reiterates the great expense of introducing the Law on Pensions and Law on Leave.

At 1905 GMT an unidentified deputy asks why there are discrepancies in leave allocations between drivers in large cities and small towns. Biryukova says medical recommendations were taken into consideration.

At 1907 GMT Deputy Nikolaychuk asks whether illness or study periods are taken into consideration when allocating leave. Biryukova says they are. Nikolaychuk claims that people in the Far North will get less leave.

At 1910 GMT Lukyanov calls for deputies to stop asking specific local questions.

A Moldavian deputy asks a question about workers in very difficult conditions.

1912 GMT

LD2811205889

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1912 GMT on 28 November continues its recording from the USSR Supreme Soviet session 28 November at the Kremlin in Moscow.

Continuing the debate on the Law on Leave, Fedorchuk calls for a clause to be included. An unidentified deputy

complains about the endlessness of the discussion. Another unidentified deputy makes a proposal on labor veterans.

At 1914 GMT Deputy (Oskalov) says he made a proposal with regard to leave in the Navy.

At 1915 GMT Lukyanov reiterates that this is the first reading; let us listen to Gritsenko. Gritsenko speaks about his commission's work on the draft in question. He says the commission believes that the draft is ready for a first reading. It was not intended for this to be an article-by-article debate. Gritsenko says the draft envisages a minimum of 21 days of leave. Lukyanov complains about noise in the hall and calls for quiet. At 1918 GMT Gritsenko outlines the amount of leave for various professions. He says the law should be accompanied by growing social development. Approximately 35 million people in the country, mainly intelligentsia, will not get more leave, he adds. In order not to antogonize certain categories of workers whose leave may be cut, the administrations of enterprises will be allowed to keep leave at its present level for a certain period of time. Gritsenko details the minimum leave allocation and arguments behind various proposals regarding it. Minimum leave will be for people beginning work. The allocation of leave will increase the longer a person works at an enterprise or organization. He proposes on behalf of his commission that the draft be approved at its first reading.

At 1925 GMT Lukyanov tries to put the first reading to a vote.

At 1926 GMT an unidentified deputy complains about the deterioration in leave allocations for medical staff.

At 1928 GMT Yetylen says the state, and not the republics, should guarantee leave.

At 1929 GMT a Central Asian deputy mentions the conditions in his region.

At 1930 GMT an unidentified deputy points out contradictions in leave allocations for bus drivers.

At 1931 GMT Bolbasov calls for more leave for inventors and scientists.

At 1934 GMT an unidentified deputy says that the cost of extra leave has been mentioned, but it will give rise to great savings because healthier people work better.

At 1935 GMT another unidentified deputy calls for a definite timetable to be set for introducing the law.

At 1936 GMT Nikolaychuk says the center is unable to define all difficult working conditions. The center should only define the parameters; the rest should be left to the works collective.

At 1940 GMT a builder says that to increase the industry's prestige it should be given additional leave allocations.

At 1942 GMT a deputy says reindeer breeders, hunters, and fishermen should get more leave.

At 1944 GMT a deputy makes a detailed proposal on the wording of a clause.

At 1945 GMT a deputy says that if the Far North has extra leave, what about the Far South?

At 1946 GMT a deputy says there should be specific lists of professions to get extra leave, in order to hold discussions with miners and others.

At 1947 GMT a shepherdess calls for extra leave.

At 1948 GMT Lukyanov asks for a vote on ending the debate: 325 for, 0 against, 2 abstentions.

At 1949 GMT Lukyanov says the draft will be discussed by the relevant organizations and then issued for general discussion.

At 1951 GMT Lukyanov puts the draft's first reading to a vote: 328 for, 5 against, 7 abstentions.

At 1953 GMT Lukyanov says the agenda has been completed. He sums up the results of the second session. Session documents will be distributed to the deputies before the congress. The commissions are gradually increasing their work load. He says the Supreme Soviet has received several hundred thousand letters from the public.

At 2001 GMT Lukyanov says he has received a message from Gorbachev apologizing for his absence and wishing them well.

At 2003 GMT the recorded relay concludes.

Further on 28 Nov Supreme Soviet Session

Session Summarized

LD2811190389 Moscow TASS in English 1741 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The second session of the Soviet parliament, which opened on September 25, ended in Moscow today.

On its final day the USSR Supreme Soviet passed a resolution granting an amnesty to former Soviet servicemen who committed crimes while serving in Afghanistan. In this connection the deputies passed an address to the peoples and parliaments of foreign countries urging them to facilitate the return home of Soviet soldiers who were taken prisoner by the Afghan armed opposition or stay in other countries.

The Supreme Soviet approved the first reading of the main provisions of legislation on annual leave and decided to submit it for nationwide discussion. Presenting the document to deputies, Aleksandra Biryukova, Soviet deputy prime minister, said it will help build

a legal basis of a strong social policy, which expresses the humanistic essence of perestroyka.

In particular, the legislation provides for increasing the minimum duration of annual leave from 15 days to three weeks, and removes current differences in their duration in various sectors of the economy. The realisation of the proposed measures calls for an additional 7.3 billion roubles.

In addition, parliament approved changes to the criminal proceedings legislation of the USSR and union republics, as regards the duration of detention during preliminary investigation into criminal cases.

The Supreme Soviet also elected 47-year-old Valentin Sukalo first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Court. Sukalo was previously justice minister of Belorussia and head of the State and Legal Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of this Soviet republic.

Lukyanov Cites Crimes of Afghan Veterans

LD2811224189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1619 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Remarks by Anatoliy Lukyanov, candidate Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the 28 November USSR Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow, concerning a proposal of amnesty for people who served in Afghanistan—recorded]

[Text] Comrades, I would actually like to tell you. There is always something being left unsaid here. What kind of contingent are we talking about? How many people? What kind of people are they and what have they done? Just to make things clear, most of them are being held in places of detention. There are approximately 2,500 of them. Of that total, one person is being held for treason, 0.9 percent for smuggling, one person for mass disorder, two for refusing to do their military service during the war, 8.5 percent for theft of state and public property, 11.9 percent for burglary, 0.8 percent for theft of state and public property by misappropriation or embezzlement, 1.1 percent for theft of state and public property in especially large quantities, 8.4 percent for deliberate murder, 5.8 percent for deliberate grave bodily harm, 11.8 percent for assault [iznasilovaniye], 12.4 percent for theft of personal property, 12.6 percent for hooliganism, 7.3 percent for infringement of traffic safety regulations, and so on. After that, we get down to hundredths of a percent. So, these are the categories of crimes at issue.

Appeal on Afghan Veterans

LD2811152589 Moscow TASS in English 1442 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Soviet parliament today passed an address urging all people of goodwill to facilitate the return home of former Soviet servicemen in Afghanistan who were taken prisoner by the Afghan armed opposition or are staying in other countries.

Guided by the principles of humanism, the address says, the USSR Supreme Soviet today granted an amnesty to former Soviet servicemen who committed crimes while serving in Afghanistan.

This decision confirms that all Soviet servicemen, taken prisoner or reported missing in Afghanistan, will be able to use all civil rights under the USSR Constitution on their return home. The announcement of the amnesty proves the Soviet parliament's adherence to new political thinking and universal human values.

In this connection the USSR Supreme Soviet appealed to all peoples, parliaments, governments and mass organisations in foreign countries to render comprehensive assistance in securing the return home of former Soviet servicemen in Afghanistan.

Text of Decision on NKAO

LD2811211689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1842 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow 28 Nov (TASS)—The Supreme Soviet has adopted a decision on measures to normalize the situation in the Nagorno- Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. We are transmitting the text of the decision:

Proceeding from the necessity to stabilize the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh and around it, and from the impermissibility of further violence, including all kinds of economic sanctions, the USSR Supreme Soviet decides:

1. To take into consideration the statement of the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] that decisive and urgent measures to remove the blockade of the railroads and the motor vehicle roads in the territory of the Azerbaijan SSR and to guarantee the uninterrupted transport of freight will be taken by the bodies of power and administration of the republic.

2. To approve the conclusions and proposals of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on the normalization of the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast of the Azerbaijan SSR.

3. To create a Republican Organizational Committee on an equal footing with the NKAO and to restore the activity of the Soviet of People's Deputies of the NKAO of the 20th convocation and of its executive committee which was suspended by a decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 12 January 1989.

To observe the representation of the Armenian and Azerbaijani sections of the population in proportion to

their numerical strength, when the autonomous oblast's bodies of state power and administration are restored.

4. To instruct the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR to adopt, as rapidly as possible, legislative measures to ensure an enhancement of the status of genuine autonomy, effective guarantees for the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, adherence to legality, protection of citizens' lives and safety, and constitutional solutions to all problems that arise.

In the course of 2 months, with the participation of the NKAO bodies of power being reestablished, to draw up and adopt a new law on the status of NKAO guaranteeing Nagorno-Karabakh full development in all spheres of state, economic, and cultural construction on the basis of self-administration, self-financing, territorial financial autonomy, and freedom of economic and cultural ties.

5. In conditions of the reestablishment of the autonomous oblast's bodies of power and administration, to deem inexpedient the further preservation of the NKAO Special Administration Committee.

For monitoring and rendering assistance in implementing the measures for stabilizing the situation in NKAO, to set up a Union Monitoring and Observation Commission [Soyuznaya Kontrolno- Nablyudatelnaya Komissiya] subordinate to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

6. Until the sociopolitical situation is normalized, with the aim of protecting and ensuring the population's safety, to keep an appropriate contingent of USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs internal troops in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, subordinating it to the Union monitoring and Observation Commission.

7. That the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijani SSR, the Council of Ministers of the Republic and the Executive Committee of the NKAO Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies should adopt the necessary measures in order to prevent any change in the demographic situation in the oblast which would disrupt the existing ethnic composition. A special commission should be set up to address the whole complex of refugee problems.

8. To instruct the Supeme Soviets of the Armenian SSR and the Azerbaijani SSR to adopt every measure to normalize relations between the two peoples, to reestablish an atmosphere of trust and cooperation, and to cultivate normal economic and cultural ties.

[Signed] Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, M. Gorbachev

[Dated] Moscow, the Kremlin, 28 November 1989

Lukyanov Gives Closing Remarks

LD2811230889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1953 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Closing remarks by Anatoliy Lukyanov, candidate Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the 28 November USSR Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow, bringing to an end the Supreme Soviet's second session—recorded]

[Excerpts] I would like to say that the agenda which we affirmed has been exhausted. Each of you is now probably going home to your constituencies and you will have to appear before your electors and tell them what we have done during this second session. A little bit about that. First of all, in summing up the results of the session one can say with confidence that the Supreme Soviet has fulfilled the basic tasks which it set itself in implementing the instructions which we were given by the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies. [passage omitted]

Today, you witnessed how, in general, the Supreme Soviet resolves questions of relations between nationalities unanimously and in a mature way. Comrades such understanding of these questions arouses great satisfaction. [passage omitted]

I think that what the Supreme Soviet has done in adopting the declaration recognizing as illegal and criminal repressive acts against peoples who were subjected to forcible resettlement, and on ensuring their rights, and all the more so, what we adopted today to develop these acts, is difficult to overestimate. These are documents of colossal importance. [passage omitted]

I keep getting asked when it will be possible to receive material on the report of the Council of Ministers to the congress. I can tell you that last Saturday [25 November] the USSR Council of Ministers, at an extended meeting, approved all these proposals and all the materials. These materials are now at the printers and they will be sent to the people's deputies. As soon as they come from the printers they will be sent to you. Thus, every deputy should have the material for the congress and the ability to work on them 2 weeks before the congress, or a maximum of 10 days before if the post is not working too well. [passage omitted]

But, perhaps the most important and most indicative thing is that the commissions have begun to work very actively. Gradually the emphasis, the main parameters of the work of the Supreme Soviet, are being transferred to the commissions, places for painstaking constant work. Your electors will probably ask you how many commissions you held. Comrades, about 350 sittings, and you know what disputes there were; what a great amount of work has been carried out by the commissions. [passage omitted]

I had a telephone conversation just now with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. He is very busy today preparing

for his foreign trip and his meeting with the U.S. President. He is very sorry that he has been unable to take part in the concluding stage of our session's work.

Mikhail Sergeyevich asked me to convey to all deputies the very best wishes for the meetings which they will have in their localities with the electors, and to convey wishes for careful and responsible preparations by the peoples deputies for the upcoming second congress. And, he expressed the opinion that the Supreme Soviet is gaining in strength, acting vigorously in all spheres of guiding the life of our country, and that the slogan about the sovereignty of the soviets is gradually and persistently being implemented and becoming increasingly tangible for our people. That means that perestroyka is moving forward, the reform of the political system is moving forward, and that in this sphere the Supreme Soviet is playing an increasingly appreciable role. [passage omitted]

Further on Closing Remarks

LD2811190889 Moscow TASS in English 1806 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

Satisfaction with the results of the second session of Soviet parliament, which ended today, was expressed in the concluding remarks of Soviet Vice-President Anatoliy Lukyanov.

Noting that the parliament had fulfilled the main tasks of the session, Lukyanov pointed out that important normative acts have been adopted—laws on leasing, and on the economic independence of Baltic republics, and that changes were made in the Law on Cooperative Societies.

Six bills approved at their first reading have been submitted for a nationwide discussion. They will determine the course of economic and political reforms and the solution of many social problems: on property, land, pensions, general principles of local government, the press and annual leave.

Lukyanov emphasised particularly that the parliament's main work will be conducted in parliamentary committees and commissions where the bills are being thoroughly formulated.

Lukyanov believes that of much importance is the law on the procedure of settling collective labour disputes adopted by the session, even though its mechanism is yet to be refined.

Parliament gave much time to interethnic relations. The bills on languages, on free national development of Soviet citizens, on citizenship were given their first reading.

Lukyanov said that the declaration of the Supreme Soviet which recognised the forcible deportation of people in the years of the Stalin repressions as illegal and criminal is a document of huge importance.

Among the most important documents adopted by the session, Lukyanov mentioned the country's state plan and budget for 1990.

He also noted that the deputies discussed a wide range of questions connected with the functioning of transport and basic industries.

The session has prepared for the discussion by the forthcoming Congress of USSR People's Deputies a package of legal acts regulating the activity of the supreme bodies of state authority and deputies' rights.

Political & Social

RSFSR Supreme Soviet Proceedings Reported

Social Development Plan Considered

LD2811185589 Moscow TASS in English 1735 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

A draft economic and social development plan and a draft budget of the Russian Federation for next year, brought up for discussion at a session of the parliament of this largest Soviet republic that opened in the Kremlin today, are aimed at overcoming crisis phenomena in the economy and at raising the well-being of the population.

The implementation of the country's development plan for 1990, which has already been adopted by the all-union parliament, will depend to a considerable extent on decisions which the session will make.

Aleksandr Khomyakov, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, delivered a report on the draft plan, pointing out changes in the capital investments pattern in favour of technical reequipment of sectors and a cut in grants to unprofitable enterprises.

The state of affairs in the republic—the unbalanced development of the national economy, the growing list of scarce goods, and the increase in social strain—prompts cardinal measures.

The share of current consumption and non-industrial construction increases more than ever before, up to 86.8 per cent, primarily in the national income consumed.

There is another unprecedented ratio: an increment in the production of consumer goods will be seven times as high as the manufacture of means of production.

The output of non-food products in 1990 is expected to grow by 23 per cent and that of farm produce by five per cent. The construction of housing, roads, and social service facilities will be conducted on a large scale.

The republic's draft state budget, submitted to the deputies, envisages large appropriations for the social needs of the population. But a lot of difficult problems will have to be solved for that.

The draft budget sets revenue at 131.6 billion roubles and expenditure at 137.9 billion roubles.

The deficit of 6.3 billion roubles is to be offset resultant of an increase in financial resources in economic sector, payments to the budget, and savings in appropriations.

Financial agencies are considering the issue of state and local loans to be distributed on a voluntary basis among state-run and cooperative enterprises and other organisations.

On the whole a financial normalisation of the national economy is becoming one of key problems for next year.

Increase in Living Standard Sought

LD2811160189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] The session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet opened in the Great Kremlin Palace at 1000 today. The agenda was approved. The following issues were submitted for the deputies to discuss: the state plan for economic and social development and the budget for the republic next year, and also approving decrees from the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. It is proposed that the session last 2 days.

A report on the draft plan for the economic and social development of the republic in 1990 was delivered by Deputy Khomyakov, chairman of RSFSR Gosplan. A report on the republic's draft budget for next year is now being delivered by RSFSR Finance Minister Deputy Bobrovnikov. The main special feature of the drafts of the plan and budget is their social orientation. For example, more than R8 billion is being channeled into raising the living standard of the population of the Russian Federation.

The debate will begin when the finance minister has concluded his report.

Economic Development Discussed

LD2811224289 Moscow TASS in English 2051 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

Determining the ways for the development of the Russian Federation next year, deputies of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet at the session under way now invariably turn to the main theme—transition to complete economic independence.

The Soviet Baltic republics will become economically independent since the new year, and the Russian Federation since 1991.

A certain experience of economic independence will be accumulated by that time: The Tatar Autonomous Republic which is part of the Russian Federation will become economically independent in a month.

Therefore deputies gave special attention to a speech by Deputy Shamil Mustayev, president of the Presidium of Tataria's Supreme Soviet.

The analysis of economic indices of that autonomous republic shows that it is capable of funding its development, making full payments to the state budgets of the Union and the Russian Federation.

The republic's revenues for last year surpassed nine billion roubles. But the level of the republic's social development is not adequate to its contribution to the country's economy, Mustayev holds.

250 billion dollars worth of oil was extracted in Tataria over the period of the development of the oil fields in the republic. Less than one percent of this sum was channelled for social needs of oil workers.

There is discontent among autoworkers manufacturing Kamaz trucks. Supplying automobiles, a considerable number of which is exported, they receive quite modest funds for their social needs.

Igor Klochkov, deputy chairman of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unons, reproached the Presidium of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and the Federation's government for delays in preparing Russia's transition to new conditions of economic management.

Models of new economic management are not being worked out. There is no clarity about a reform of price formation.

Some autonomous republic and many regions are doomed to dependence in subsidies because of low prices of raw materials and energy sources they produce.

Klochkov believes that it is unfair that profitability of the fuel-energy sector is one-third of that of the light industry.

Because of disproportions in prices of products of the mining and processing industries, Russia loses every year billions of roubles for national revenues during the exchange with other republics.

The destiny of 1,200 enterprises showing loss has not yet been decided.

The government has no programme for the stimulation and creation of small enterprises which can promptly react to demand, can easily be readjusted to the manufacture of new kinds of products and create new jobs.

There are more questions than answers at the session. The answers are to be produced in the new year which will be the decisive year for the economic reform in the republic.

Foreign Relations Emphasized

LD2811225689 Moscow TASS in English 1924 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

For the first time in many years a session of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet heard a detailed information by the republican foreign minister on foreign political and economic relations. There are now more grounds for that.

These relations of the Russian Federation have gained in scope considerably in recent years, Minister Vladimir Vinogradov said.

Among the partners of the Russian parliament are the Czech National Council and the parliaments of Japan, Australia, and the United States.

Agreements on cooperation with Yugoslavia's constituent republics—Serbia and Montenegro—are being implemented. The republic actively develops contacts with the north eastern provinces of China and maintains regular contacts with Japanese prefectures.

Agreements have been concluded on cooperation in various fields with the governments of the FRG's Lander—North Rhein-Westphalia and Lower Saxony—and with the Canadian provinces of Alberta and Quebec. Talks are being completed with the Italian province of Veneto and America's Illinois.

More than 150 cities of the Russian Federation maintain sister-city relationships with 200 cities of foreign countries. These relationships are a practical form of local councils' participation in the country's foreign policy.

The autonomous republics, territories and regions are establishing direct contacts with regions and territories of other countries. Magadan Region actively develops contacts with Alaska, the Tatar Autonomous Republic with Montenegro, and Daghestan with the autonomous territory of Kosovo. Direct business contacts have been estabished by hundreds of industrial enterprises and research institutions.

Foreign trade turnover independently managed by the Russian Federation has already amounted to more than two billion roubles.

In the territory of the republic, 4,800 independent participants in foreign economic relations have been registered. This is an essential part of the republic's change-over to economic independence.

Having emphasised the importance of developing all forms of cooperation with foreign partners, Vinogradov cautioned against non-serious approach to commercial deals. In particular he considers it necessary to establish a Russian Federation chamber of commerce and industry and other organisations that could render assistance in trade and business cooperation to the republic's enterprises and economic organisations that have no experience in this field.

Session Continues 29 Nov

LD2911092489 Moscow TASS in English 0745 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

A session of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, the largest union republic of the USSR, is continuing here for the second day.

The deputies, representing almost a half of the country's population, are discussing the draft plan for Russia's economic and social development and the republic's budget for 1990. They are faced with rather difficult problems.

It is planned, for instance, to raise national production revenues, the wellspring for strengthening the national economy and raising the people's living standards, by 15 billion roubles. Nevertheless, budget spendings, according to the draft, will exceed revenues by 6.3 billion roubles.

The key feature of 1990 is that in addition to improving the republic's financial situation it is planned to break ground next year for transition to a new style of management and to economic independence in 1991.

Official on Republics' Foreign Policy Role

PM2711114989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with Yu. Kuplyakov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Union Republics Department, by M. Yusin: "The Republics Enter the International Arena"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] A new service has recently been created in the USSR Foreign Ministry—a department for the union republics. IZVESTIYA's diplomatic correspondent met with its chief, Yu. Kuplyakov.

[Yusin] Yuriy Viktorovich, what caused the Foreign Ministry to create a department that has, judging by its name, more to do with matters within the USSR than with foreign policy?

[Kuplyakov] The name is not everything. Our subdivision comes under the Foreign Ministry, and naturally it cannot stand apart from problems of foreign policy. The specific character of the department lies in the fact that it is particularly foreign policy questions which affect the interests of the union republics in one way or another that come into the sphere of our interests.

Article 80 of the USSR Constitution grants republics the right to establish foreign policy contacts independently.

However, until recently this article existed on paper only. Contacts between republics and foreign states were almost always made through Moscow, and the role of republics' foreign ministries was reduced to a minimum. In the period of perestroyka it has become necessary to involve the republics' foreign ministries in the formulation of Soviet foreign policy, activity with international organizations, and economic collaboration with foreign partners. Our department was formed to coordinate this work.

[Yusin] Could you tell me about the basic directions of your activity?

[Kuplyakov] Above all, it involves strengthening working links with the union republics and giving practical assistance to the republics' foreign ministries. One of our tasks is to promote the participation of the republics' representatives in the work of international organizations. A great deal is already being done in this direction. Foreign ministers of union republics are included in the Soviet delegation at sessions of the UN General Assembly. It is planned to draw the republics into the Soviet Union's foreign policy measures to a greater extent. For example, into talks on crossing the borders and solving problems of regional cooperation.

[Yusin] What were your first steps in your new post?

[Kuplyakov] Quite recently, USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.M. Nikiforov and I returned from visits to Belorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, where we met with the party leadership, the chairmen of the republics' councils of ministers, and our colleagues from the foreign ministries. The trip was very useful, particularly because it enabled us to familiarize ourselves on the spot with problems facing republican foreign ministries and their needs.

[Yusin] What specific problems were mentioned?

[Kuplyakov] First of all, all the interlocutors complained about the foreign mginistries' small staffs and limited resources....

[Yusin] What do the republics' foreign ministries look like and how many people work in them?

[Kuplyakov] It depends on the individual republic. In the Ukraine and Belorussia (which, as is well known, are permanently represented at the United Nations) the ministries are operating very actively. In the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], for example, there are about 60 people. The foreign policy departments of Georgia and the Baltic republics have expanded their staff in recent years, and on average there are between 25-30,000 and 40,000 people working there. At the same time, the Central Asian republics' foreign ministries have not yet reached that scale. This is reflected in the number of staff in the ministries: The figure for Central Asia is quite modest—around 10 people.

[Yusin] Let's return to the visit to the Baltic States and Belorussia.... What other urgent needs did your interlocutors talk about?

[Kuplyakov] In almost every conversation there was talk about the need to increase the union republics' representation in neighboring countries and also in the countries where the republics have specific interests.

[Yusin] What form will this take? Can we expect consulates of the Soviet republics to appear soon in foreign capitals?

[Kuplyakov] Under the Constitution, the state's foreign policy is carried out by the union center. So there is hardly any need to duplicate Soviet embassies and consulates by creating republican ones. There is another approach, which, in my view, has greater prospects. The staff of Soviet diplomatic establishments abroad could be increased to represent the republics that have priority interests in the given country. This practice already exists, and it must be developed and improved.

[Yusin] And yet this practice is still not being implemented extensively enough. Why?

[Kuplyakov] Problems are arising with the foreign partners. In many countries a quota system has been established for foreign diplomatic institutions—that is, the number of employees is limited to a particular number. So, in order to add extra people to certain foreign representations, we have to overcome purely organizational difficulties. We do not see any other obstacles in the way of this.

[Yusin] You mentioned the term "specific interests." Shouldn't you explain what this means? In which states do our union republics have such interests?

[Kuplyakov] Around 20 million of our compatriots are now living abroad. Many emigrants who have moved abroad from Russia, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Armenia, and the Baltic States have preserved their language and customs and keep up links with the motherland. Naturally, the union republics want to extend political, cultural, and economic contacts particularly with the states to which their compatriots have emigrated. And of course, the neighbor factor plays a great role. These are the reasons for specific (or priority) interests.

For example, the Baltic republics have such interests in neighboring Nordic countries, in the United States, and in Canada; large colonies of Lithuanian emigrants live in South America, (Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay), and a large number of Estonians and Latvians have emigrated to Australia. Moldavia is closely linked with Romania for many reasons. Armenia can claim to priority relations with the United States and France, since Armenian communities are large in those countries and enjoy great influence. Even before the revolution, tens of thousands of emigrants from Russia and the Ukraine went to live on the other side of the ocean—particularly in Canada and the United States. Central Asian republics have

priority relations with neighboring states, particularly China, while Azerbaijan has them with Turkey and Iran. We must not forget about European socialist countries and the FRG. Almost all the Soviet republics in the European part of the USSR have specific interests in these states, connected either with a nationality aspect or with questions of economic collaboration.

[Yusin] Recently we have read and heard about the possibility of creating consular institutions of neighboring states in the capitals of certain republics, for example a Finnish consulate in Tallinn, a Swedish consulate in Riga, a Polish consulate in Vilnius, and so on. How realistic are these projects?

[Kuplyakov] Such proposals have indeed been put forward. But as you can see, this question involves many difficulties. In this case not everything depends on our will alone.

[Yusin] In which cities in our country are foreign consulates in operation at the moment?

[Kuplyakov] In Leningrad there are general consulates of 15 states (The United States, Finland, France, Sweden, Japan, Italy, the FRG, and socialist countries), in Kiev, there are 10 (the FRG and socialist countries), and in Minsk there is a Polish and a GDR consulate. The consulates in Leningrad and Minsk also include the territory of the Baltic States in their sphere of activity.

[Yusin] Foreign newspapers are now writing a great deal about the strained relations between Poland and Lithuania in connection with the Lithuanian SSR Government's introduction of customs laws which the Polish authorities consider discriminatory in relation to Polish tourists. What is your opinion on this problem?

[Kuplyakov] Many questions connected with intra-union and international norms arise here. In my view, the steps taken by the Lithuanian Government have only one aim—to protect the internal market. There is no mention of any kind of discrimination. These measures are not aimed against Poland or the Polish people in any way. It is a struggle against speculation, in which individuals coming to Lithuania are involved. In addition, I am convinced that the decisions adopted are of a temporary nature, and they are, so to speak, the price of a crisis period, the cost of an unregulated commodity market. There is clearly no need to dramatize the situation.

[Yusin] Speaking at the Supreme Soviet session, E.A. Shevardnadze said that the union republic representatives will be actively drawn into diplomatic talks and Soviet leaders' official visits to foreign countries. Has this initiative been implemented in any concrete way?

[Kuplyakov] Let us first recall M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Finland. Because of the close links between Finland and Estonia, the delegation included V.I. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. N.V. Neyland, Latvian deputy foreign minister, took part in Swedish Foreign Minister Sten Andersson's recent Moscow talks. This practice will be expanded.

Further on Constitution Commission's Activity

PM2911143189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Nov 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Constitutional Commission's Sitting"]

[Text] The Constitutional Commission set up by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies had a sitting 27 November, with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in the chair.

Following Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's report, the commission discussed questions concerning the approach toward the concept of a new USSR Constitution (Fundamental Law), and determined the procedure for organizing its work.

USSR People's Deputies A.R.Kh. Vezirov, I.N. Gryazin, A.D. Sakharov, I.M. Bogdanov, S.G. Arutyunyan, M.I. Umarkhodzhayev, K.D. Lubenchenko, K.V. Nechayev, Yu.Kh. Kalmykov, A.A. Likhanov, and D.A. Kerimov, and B.N. Toporin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute, took part in the discussion.

It was deemed expedient to set up a working group to prepare a draft of the new USSR Constitution.

Losses From Pechora Coal Basin Strike Reported

LD2811205289 Moscow TASS in English 1955 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Vorkuta, Komi Autonomous Republic, November 28 TASS—The strike at the Vorgashorskaya, the largest colliery of the Pechora coal basin, has been going on since October 25. The other mines in Vorkuta, a Vorkutaugol (coal) Association spokesman told TASS, have resumed operations, but some of them have yet been unable to restore the normal rhythm after the stoppage.

As a result, the Vorkutaugol Association's debts continue growing. By late October, the association had produced more than 0.5 million tonnes of coal and above plan, but the surplus has been 'eaten up' during the autumn strike.

Since the beginning of November, the collieries have produced 827,000 tonnes less coal than planned and at present the association owes its customers nearly 900,000 tonnes of coal, mainly of the coke type.

Over the past twenty-four hours, miners at the Vorgan-shorskaya held meetings of work-shifts to discuss further action. They decided to continue the strike, as the miners claimed they were dissatisfied with the decisions taken at the meeting of miners with the Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov on November 17.

The decisions have now been formulated as documents, but the Vorgashorskaya miners stated that they had no confidence in the Pechora coal basin representatives at that meeting, as they had adopted a conciliation stance.

The miners believed that the resolution on more privileges to the workers in the mining industry was driving a wedge between the miners and workers in other trades in the extreme north.

They insisted on some demands including the granting of official status to the workers' (strike) committee and some other demands.

A conference of the strike committees and representatives of Vorkuta enterprises and organisations, scheduled to meet later today, will discuss the present situation.

Vorkuta Strike Situation Analyzed

904F0032B Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 21 Nov 89 p 1

[Article by SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA information service: "Vorgashorskaya Mine Stands Fast"]

[Text] As has already been reported, a meeting between Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers N.I. Ryzhkov and representatives of labor collectives from the coal regions of the country was held in the Kremlin on 17 October. A heated discussion took place between the miners who had arrived in Moscow and the members of the government.

The course of fulfillment of the well-known Resolution 608 on meeting the demands of miners made during the summer strikes was the focal point of attention. Activists of the workers' and strike committees voiced a number of serious complaints about the central ministries and departments which are slow to solve the painful problems of the coal industry dating back many years and which show no genuine concern for improving the conditions of the work and life of miners. The current issues of material supply to the mines and strip mines, technical retooling of the enterprises, and protection of the health of people were raised in a particularly sharp manner.

At the same time, many miners referred to the need to show restraint and responsibility and to allow no ill-considered actions. Given the current crisis condition of the economy, a new outbreak of strikes may render all efforts to stabilize the situation ineffective. Emotions which are frequently fueled from the outside cannot be an argument in resolving conflicts and settling disputes. It is necessary to assess the situation realistically and soberly.

It was found necessary at the meeting to specify if necessary and make revisions in individual points of Resolution 608. It was resolved to set up regional commissions consisting of the representatives of the government, local organs, and labor collectives of miners for monitoring the compliance with agreed-upon obligations. The commissions will consider and resolve all the problems of every coal basin promptly.

In summing up the exchange of opinions held, N.I. Ryzhkov observed that the government appreciates the needs of miners and the development of the coal industry as a whole. A number of the issues raised at the meeting, including such things as changes in the organizational structure of management in the branch, a transition to economic accountability in mines and regions, and changes in the wholesale prices for coal, are issues of principle. Decisions on them will be made after a detailed study, taking into account changes resulting from the radical economic reform.

It was planned to consider the issues raised by the participants in the meeting at a session of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers very soon.

How did they receive the results of the meeting in Vorkuta , where the strikes of miners have continued since early November? Last Saturday a city conference of strike committees was held there. Unfortunately this time as well, emotions prevailed over reasonable arguments. Under pressure from the representatives of the largest mine, Vorgashorskaya, a resolution in favor of continuing the strike was adopted.

A telegram signed by People's Deputies Maksimov, Lushikov, Ignatov, Lushnikov, and members of the coordinating council of party committees Karelin, Timshin, Rykh, and Terentyev was sent to the city strike committee from Moscow.

They wrote that the government met their demands at the meeting with Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers N.I. Ryzhkov. A government commission was set up which includes Utkin, Alakhverdiyev, and Sheykhakhmedov from Vorkuta. The commission will work out the definitive text of the final document of the meeting, which will indicate a specific deadline for fulfillment and appoint responsible executors in the Government. The commission is requesting 10 days to prepare this document. We appeal to you with an earnest request to resume work immediately in order to create a normal situation and ensure the success of operation of our commission.

Yesterday our correspondent V. Krukovskiy reported that on Monday [20 November] out of the 13 mines of Vorkuta, Vorgashorskaya and Promyshlennaya were not operating at all. Mining was partially in progress at Oktyabrskaya and Yur-Shora mines. The striking mine Khalmer-Yu resumed operation. The arrears the miners have for November have already come to 644,000 tons.

Ukraine Miners Admit Need for 'Coordinating Body'

PM2411124789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent N. Lisovenko report under the rubric "Fact and Commentary": "At the Initiative of the Donbass Miners"]

[Text] Donetsk—In Donetsk, representatives of Donbass mining collectives have set up a constituent commission on the formation of the country's first coal mining concern.

It is well known that in just under 2 years the Ukraine has eliminated first the republic's Ministry of the Coal Industry and then the two main administrations that replaced it: in Donetsk and Voroshilovgrad. They had all been accused of the typical sins: oversized staffs and inability to work in the new way. On 10 October 1989, the strike committees joyfully informed the miners that from this day the main administrations were no more. However, the first month of work without a coordination center placed the Donbass coal industry in a difficult position: There was no one to deal with the thousands of consumers of Donetsk fuel, the construction of projects in the social sphere fell greatly behind schedule, material and technical supply to production associations and mines was disrupted, and confusion arose with regard to setting capital investment limits and drawing up plans for the future....

Specialists from the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry have been sent on increasingly frequent assignments to the Donbass to tie up the various loose ends, but surely serious work cannot be done with flying visits?

To make a long story short, the miners reached the following conclusion:

"We need a regional coordinating body with sufficiently broad powers but free of the old bureaucratic ills."

We should point out that not only the directors of mines, associations, plants, and construction projects reached this conclusion but labor collective councils and strike committees as well.

On 13 November, representatives of coal mining enterprises in Donetsk Oblast, Voroshilovgrad Oblast, and also the mining town of Pavlograd in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast decided that the time had come to set up a commission led by V.I. Kuzyara, general director of the "Makeyevugol" Association, to prepare a mining conference. This conference is to discuss the question of forming a Ukrainian coal mining concern with a small but highly qualified, mobile apparatus, a clear idea of prospects, and extensive plans.

Kemerovo To Cooperate With Kuznetsk Union

LD2611014589 Moscow TASS in English 1358 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Kemerovo November 25 TASS—A plenary meeting of the Kemerovo regional committee of the Soviet Communist Party on Friday [24 November] supported the idea of setting up councils of work collectives in towns and districts on a voluntary basis to develop democratic principles in economic management.

It was emphasised that party organisations intend to cooperate with a new organisation, the workers union of the Kuznetsk coal basin, in the spirit of mutual understanding, respect and trust.

At the same time the plenum participants regarded as unacceptable some forms and methods of the work of the union and its calls for a resumption of the strike.

Changes in the inner party life have been mapped out: primary organisations and party committees will be given independence in deciding on many matters.

Provision is made for a sharp cut in the list of positions, nominations for which were previously decided upon with the knowledge of this or that party body.

It remains the principal duty of every communist to participate in the realisation of socio-economic policy, speakers at the plenum emphasised.

The regional party organisation remains responsible for arrangements to implement the protocol, signed by the government commission after the July strike of coal miners, to meet the work collectives' demands, and to realise the USSR Council of Ministers' Resolution 608.

PRAVDA Views Perestroyka Challenge to CPSU

PM2911143389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Nov 89 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Toward a Humane and Democratic Socialism"]

[Text] Nowadays it is probably impossible to find anyone who has not pondered the meaning and purpose of perestroyka and asked himself: Where are we going, what results do we wish to achieve? This is of interest to communists and nonparty people, workers in the material sphere and the creative intelligentsia, young people and veterans. After all, perestroyka is the life and destiny of all who are not indifferent to our past, present, and future. Not everyone has the same perception of the practical steps to reform ownership relations, the economic mechanism, and the political system, to create a rule-of-law state, and to change the spiritual and moral climate in society. Some people do not find them radical enough. We also have the mourners of socialism, those who are inclined to perceive some of the party's decisions and even practical actions—insofar as they do not fit within the framework of the traditional concept of social processes—as a retreat from socialist principles.

Some people are being reproachful, claiming that the party totally lacks a concept, strategy, and tactics for perestroyka. It has become most imperatively necessary to clearly explain perestroyka's topical and strategic goals at its crucial stage to all strata of society.

M.S. Gorbachev's article "The Socialist Idea and Revolutionary Perestroyka," which was published in PRAVDA (26 November 1989), demonstrates the depth, scale, and vital importance of this problem. The article sums up and develops ideas which were expressed over at least the last 2 years, especially in documents associated with the 70th October anniversary, the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum, the 19th All-Union Party Conference, and M.S. Gorbachev's speeches at the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee plenum, and the All-Union Students' Forum. The analysis of perestroyka's paths and future in the article evolves into a reflection on the paths and future of socialism. Fundamental importance attaches to the actual methodology used to elaborate the problem. The author follows Marxist principles, proceeds from life and the generalization of practice, and uses this as a basis to draw conclusions.

As the article notes, socialism still has to adequately realize itself [osoznat sebya adekvatno] in conformity with the deep-seated meaning originally ingrained in it as an idea. As well as, of course, in the context of the contemporary stage of the development of human civilization. After all, the 7 decades since October are, on history's scale, only a brief period when it comes to establishing a new society which marks the beginning of a new era in mankind's progress. The party perceives perestroyka not only as a way to solve topical problems but also as an historical stage of socialism, when the authoritarian bureaucratic system is rejected and a genuinely democratic and self-managing social organism comes into being.

History has raised, more acutely than ever before, the question of the vitality of the socialist idea itself. Voices can be heard increasingly often today, claiming that the socialist idea is an artificial and abstract construct and thus supposedly has no future, that the Marxist theory which expressed and substantiated it has supposedly not been borne out since it is responsible for our society's state of crisis. There can be no argument about it, our past is complex. It is a fusion of victories and failures, discoveries and errors, the bright and the tragic, revolutionary enthusiasm, heroic labor and sacrifices, great hopes and disappointments... At the same time, it is incumbent on us to take a broad historical view of the processes which have occurred in our country. Looking back, we unfortunately cannot say that the revolution has performed everything it promised. But we cannot deny what it has achieved through the people's persistent labor. The Soviet Union has become one of the states which determine mankind's future, and we have plenty to be proud of.

After Lenin, however, the concept of socialism was increasingly closely associated with the image of the authoritarian bureaucratic-edict administrative system. Stalin's distortions made it lose its main element: the perception of man as an end rather than as a means. The idea of free development for all was replaced by the concept of man as a "cog" in the party-state machine and of working people's organizations as that machine's "drive belts." Consequently, instead of being the historical creation by the masses with the party playing the role of political vanguard in the process, socialism became largely a bureaucratic construction built by edict, "on instructions from the top." This also resulted in growing social apathy, unrealized potential in the new system, a lag behind the West in a series of important spheres and avenues, the decline of the socialist ideal's attractiveness, the spread of sundry "social ills," and a deterioration in society's moral health.

When it embarked on our society's renewal in April 1985, the party assumed that it would be mainly a matter of correcting certain deformations in it and accelerating its development, but it emerged that our socialist home needs not just a cosmetic decoration but a radical refurbishment, from its economic foundation to its superstructure. The actual logic of perestroyka tells us that the change of our viewpoint on socialism is a revival of the Marxist concept of its essence, a return to Lenin's perception of socialism but at a new and contemporary level, taking historical experience and present-day realities into account.

Let us recall the basic principles of Lenin's approach to socialism: social ownership of the basic means of production ensuring fast growth of production forces, distribution according to labor, and the overcoming of social and national antagonisms. Work for one's own rather than the exploiters' benefit, real transformation of working people into masters of all social production. Power to the soviets—power to the whole people. Enterprise, competition, bold initiatives—and simultaneously planning perceived as a deliberately implemented proportionality. Development of the socialist economy as a system of civilized cooperative members. Utilization of the achievements of science and technology in people's interests. Cultural revolution perceived as making the wealth of world culture available to all. Implacable struggle against bureaucratism. Subordination of the development of production to people's interests and satisfaction of man's needs. This is a society aiming for socialist democracy, self-management and creativeness by the masses, cultural growth of the people, and creation of conditions for the comprehensive development of the individual. Perestroyka makes these original principles of the revolution feasible, seeing that in the past most of them were only proclaimed.

Another new element is the fact that the actual criteria for determining what is socialist are also changing. Life makes it necessary to relate them more and more to people's interests and needs. Only people's real involvement in all affairs will make it possible to overcome their

alienation and the gap separating common and individual interests, to boost individual activeness in all spheres of social life. It must be fully realized that society's development will become more intensive as man himself becomes more developed, more competent, and more conscientious in his labor.

The party expects that the economic mechanisms elaborated in the course of the reform will stimulate scientific and technical progress as the foundation of the intensive development of production forces. Contemporary socialist production can develop as a system of production forces based on information technology and the other latest technologies, organically combining and implementing economic priorities and production relations presupposing the development of multifaceted forms of social ownership. The transformation of ownership relations, and the transition from an administrative-edict, plan-centralized, and statized economy to multifaceted forms of socialist ownership and economic methods of management, provide the basis for the process of socialism's renewal. Such an economic system would conform with the very nature of this social system, and we can and must build it. Our fundamental position in this regard is enshrined in the Central Committee June (1987) and March (1989) Plenum decisions and the USSR Supreme Soviet resolutions. We are thus casting off inveterate ideological prejudices and demolishing dogmatic barriers blocking the path of real-life economic practice.

Much, very much still has to be clarified in the realms of theory, but the main point is to affirm in practice the genuine renewal of socialism in the political sphere. Yes, the new look of socialism is its human look. But the point is not to just proclaim this, to say that we are building humane socialism. The important point is to create socioeconomic and political structures which will provide the means with people being the end, to ensure that the economy, the social sphere, and the entire political mechanism are geared to people. This is the objective that the party sets for the whole of society. It is aiming for genuine people's power through shaping the mechanisms of a civic society and a rule-of-law state.

It is noteworthy that now we are talking about democratizing not only the state system but all social life as well. A democratization which provides a powerful impetus for boosting the social activeness and self-organized activity of the masses and creates conditions for their manifestation.

The democratization of all spheres of social life, democratic socialism, includes, on the one hand, the creation of democratic mechanisms and, on the other, the enhancement and development of the masses' political culture, the shaping of traditions of respect for the law which make it mandatory to resolve all emerging problems within the framework of the law and in conformity with democratic procedures which have been elaborated. This applies to both state and public organizations. And primarily, of course, to every person.

Quite a few problems will have to be solved and contradictions in the sphere of interethnic relations overcome along the path to the new-look socialism. The party is aware of the entire spectrum of these problems and, without oversimplifying them, offers hints about ways to solve them in the spirit of socialism's genuine values. Elaborated with broad participation by all peoples in our multinational state, the CPSU's nationalities policy platform offers every opportunity to build interethnic relations on the principles of democracy and equality, mutual respect, and free development of the peoples.

The party does not treat this as a question of inventing an alluring image of the future and then forcing it into being. No, it emphasizes with the utmost certainty that the future will not emerge from dreams about it but from the actual present, from its inherent contradictions and development trends, from our joint work. To forget this would mean indulging in hare-brained schemes. The country's present is too serious and too important to allow us the luxury of hare-brained schemes and myth-making.

An exceptional mission is assigned in this context to science, and primarily to social scientists. There can no longer be any room for dogmatism and ossified thinking in social science. Life itself makes it necessary to analyze reality, build forecasts, and provide tried and tested recommendations for practical implementation in an unfettered and bold fashion, proceeding from universal human principles and criteria, on the basis of the methodology of Marxism-Leninism.

Ecological and other terrible threats are hanging over mankind, and the actual possibility of eliminating them depends on the pooling of efforts. Therefore, recognition of the community of interests and the need for compromise becomes a condition for the survival of man himself, for the solution of every individual people's and state's specific problems. We can no longer ignore this, either in theory or in practice.

The CPSU bears a special responsibility for society's advance toward the new frontiers of socialism. For decades on end, the party seemed to have been built into the authoritarian-bureaucratic system, and the processes of bureaucratization profoundly affected it. The party apparatus acquired vast real power and performed the function of issuing edicts in all links. The absolutization of the principle of centralization in the party, based on rigid party discipline, transformed rank-and-file communists into nothing more than simple executants and emasculated the self-motivation principle in party life.

Today, when the CPSU is increasingly becoming a center for the elaboration of political and ideological concepts and platforms recommended to society as personified in its elected organs, party organizations at all levels, their committees, and all communists are required to adopt a fundamentally different approach to everything that is now part of the party's and the people's life. The mission of being the political vanguard is, of course, more

responsible and more complex, and it makes it mandatory for every communist, no matter in which sector he is working, to set an example of democratism, to uphold the ideals of socialism by force of argument and by his own stance in life, to rebuff demagoguery and sham innovativeness. To live not by blaming "them up there" on every occasion but by displaying one's own initiative and responsibility is a much more complex matter, but this is actually the path of perestroyka, the path of the renewal of party activity.

The article "The Socialist Idea and Revolutionary Perestroyka" contains none of the instructions and directives without which many of us are literally unable to take a single step. It contains a creative and dogmatically unfettered presentation of many cardinal questions of the historical past and the present, and it breaks out of the boundaries of prohibited approaches to them (as shown specifically by the call to look at the centuries of experience of social democracy, which will make it easier for us to perceive the origins of our own party and take a nontraditional view of the nature of peasants' labor). To put it briefly, it invites us to ponder in depth and interpret problems, without a clear understanding of which we will be unable to imagine the new look of socialism. At the same time, the article sums up the tremendous work already done by the party on creating a contemporary concept of socialism with profound awareness of the meaning and purpose of revolutionary perestroyka.

Creatively investigating the contemporary realities, the party is approaching the forthcoming 28th CPSU Congress fully armed with theoretical experience, elaborating a scientifically substantiated and comprehensively tried and tested long-term action program. The discussion which we intend to launch in PRAVDA on questions of the strategy and tactics of revolutionary perestroyka, the new look of socialism, and the ways leading to it will help the party in the elaboration of a political platform. We invite our readers—workers, peasants, and, of course, social scientists and representatives of the creative intelligentsia—to play an active part in the discussion of current and long-term problems of perestroyka, the new concept of socialism, and the ways to achieve a humane and democratic socialism.

Interior Ministry Briefing on Economic Activities

LD2811221789 Moscow TASS in English 2140 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—Along with positive factors connected with the expansion of the Soviet Union's foreign economic activities, the development of negative trends in this field also becomes evident. This problem was the subject of a briefing in the Soviet Interior Ministry today.

On the one hand, many participants in the realisation of foreign economic contacts proved unprepared to act in the conditions of the commodity market and are showing inability to transact foreign trade operations, it was pointed out at the briefing.

On the other hand, in a number of instances, state interests are deliberately disregarded in favour of mercenary interests.

For example, a senior official of the foreign trade association Prommachimport and a representative of the USSR Ministry of the Light Industry were convicted in 1988 for accepting bribes to enable the Dutch firm Storgbraband to conclude a contract on conditions that were by far less lucrative to the Soviet Union than was suggested by other competitors of the firm.

As a result of stopping the criminal activity of those dealers, the embezzlement of 586,000 foreign exchange roubles was prevented.

Significant is also an example when a number of joint ventures, in pursuit of profit, develop energetic foreign policy activities incompatible with the goals and tasks that were initially recorded in their basic instruments.

For example, officials of the Soviet-British joint venture "Aspect", set up in Moscow to help with holiday arrangements for Soviet citizens, arranged the smuggling of more than 140 tonnes of aluminium out of the Soviet Union upon resorting to the forgery of documents.

Known are also instances when representatives of foreign firms genuinely interested in establishing mutually beneficial partnership get into the hands of various kinds of extortionists, it was pointed out at the briefing.

This year, jointly with State Security Committee personnel, Moscow agencies for combatting the theft of socialist property exposed a criminal group caught in extorting bribes amounting to 17,000 roubles from representatives of one of Finnish firms for rendering assistance in establishing a joint venture on Soviet territory.

It was announced at the briefing that subdivisions specialising in organising work to identify crimes in the system of foreign economic relations are being set up within the departments combatting the theft of socialist property.

Leningrad First Secretary Gidaspov Interviewed

PM2811154089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Nov 89 First Edition p 2

[Interview with B.V. Gidaspov, first secretary of Leningrad Oblast and City CPSU Committees, by special correspondents V. Gerasimov and A. Ilin in Leningrad, under the rubric "The Party and Perestroyka: Toward the 28th CPSU Congress": "Finding Answers to People's Questions"; date of interview not given; first two paragraphs are correspondents' introduction]

[Text] Let us introduce our interviewee. Boris Veniaminovich Gidaspov was elected first secretary of Leningrad Oblast Party Committee [obkom] a few months ago—in

the summer of this year. The other day he also became first secretary of Leningrad City CPSU Committee [gorkom]. He is a USSR people's deputy. Many people first came to know him by sight, so to speak, during the live television relays from the First Congress of People's Deputies, when Boris Veniaminovich was chairman of the Credentials Commission.

But Gidaspov has been well known for many years both in the scientific world and in business circles. Boris Veniaminovich was head of the board of the "Tekhnokhim" multisector state association—one of our country's first and biggest concerns—and was a member of the obkom bureau. He is a doctor of chemical sciences and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and has won Lenin and State Prizes for scientific work up to worldwide standards. B.V. Gidaspov was one of the scientific support group attached to the government commission to eliminate the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station, and spent the first 6 weeks in the disaster area. Boris Veniaminovich was also a member of the council of chief designers of the "Energiya"-"Buran" space complex.

[Correspondents] First, Boris Veniaminovich, a personal question. It is a question that will probably occur to the majority of readers when they study your "resume," as the personnel people call it. Studying it undoubtedly prompts contradictory feelings. It is no doubt a good thing that unusual people with interesting life stories are coming into party work. But on the other hand it is a shame for someone to leave a sphere of activity where he was needed, where everything had gone so well for him....

[Gidaspov] From a commonplace point of view, it is all quite incomprehensible. I had a solid position in science and in the concern, I had published a book, a scientific work, this year.... I did not gain anything for myself by becoming first secretary, yet I did suffer some losses. But that is not the point. For me, Leningrad is a special city, and I am saddened that its prestige has faded somewhat in recent years. When I was interviewed prior to my election, I said: We must get down to work. And we must. If we all go on talking and doing nothing, nothing will happen. I have been guided by that. It is not so much a sense of duty as a sense of responsibility. For Leningrad, for the prestige of the bureau and our party organization.

[Correspondents] We know that at first not everyone readily accepted, so to speak, the new and no doubt in many ways unexpected candidacy. We remember that your speech at the party aktiv meeting in August was perhaps rather tough, and prompted much discussion.

[Gidaspov] What can you do? When you are first secretary, you have to choose—you either worry about yourself, or about society. That is how the times are nowadays. I traveled around a lot, visited dozens of labor collectives, and met with all kinds of people. Those who are called conservatives, or sometimes, even more caustically, dogmatists, and those who are in favor of drastic changes. I saw for myself that Leningraders care about their city, about the country. They care very much. They have different views on our policy, but they are people who feel things deeply. They all realize that we cannot go on living the way we were. I was afraid that I would be besieged with requests: Give us this, give us that. That did happen, of course. Especially with regard to housing, that is a very acute problem for Lenignraders.... But mostly, there were constructive proposals: This must be changed, that must be done, then we will resolve all our tasks. People's morale is good. So now it is up to the party organizations.

We have lost a lot of ground in our work with people. Leaders of party committees at every level spent a lot of time mainly on economic questions, or even purely production matters. They counted up how many nuts were made, how much metal was produced. That is important, very important, but all the same, it is not the most important thing. And what is society's aim? Do we see the people behind the statistics, are we creating the conditions for the development of the individual and his intellect? If we ignore all that, we will achieve nothing....

[Correspondents] Now we would like to move straight on to the recent events in Leningrad. The editorial office and correspondents' office are receiving a great many calls about the joint plenum of Leningrad party obkom and gorkom [city party committee]. Your report at the plenum and the debates were relayed on television, and the Leningrad television channel is received in Moscow and a number of other cities. Judging from these calls, the Leningrad Communists' action program was of interest to many people.

[Gidaspov] First I would like to say that the plenum was not some kind of isolated event, it was a stage in the work that Leningrad's Communists are now doing. You have already mentioned the party aktiv meeting at the Tauride Palace, when we first started talking about our platform for aciton in present-day conditions.

[Correspondents] Incidentally, PRAVDA wrote about that meeting.

[Gidaspov] It made a very great impression on me. You know, democratic traditions have always been very strong in our party organization. That is still characteristic of Leningrad's Communists now—a longing for democracy, activeness. When they start talking, they talk frankly and openly. We received many responses and proposals relating to the draft program, and they were published in the press. Nearly all of them mentioned increasing the role of primary party organizations. That is a phrase that may look hackneyed, but basically it is the most important thing we must do. That is democracy—to know and take into account the collective opinion of the Communists and the party organization. Not to be led by the nose by individual comrades who are able to speak very vividly and eloquently—we have

some of those experts. But to heed the opinions of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia. That is where the innovative impetus comes from. It grows, you could say, out of the ground. It is not imposed from above—by the obkom or obkom bureau, still less by the first secretary; it is born in the party organizations themselves. Our decisions then have solid foundations. Unless we learn to analyze and generalize on the basis of information from below, we will not be able to formulate our strategy correctly.

And that is how the action program adopted at the joint obkom and gorkom plenum was born.

[Correspondents] Please comment on its starting points.

[Gidaspov] Let me repeat what I said at the plenum: Now is the time for us Communists to check our bearings and examine carefully what is happening in our "party home." If we do not do this today, it will be 100 times harder to do it tomorrow. People are waiting for clear political standpoints and assessments. Of today, and especially of tomorrow.

Wherever we go, we obkom and gorkom workers are asked questions like these: "What has perestroyka done for the ordinary working person? What can we expect next? Are we going back—or, as some people are saying now, forward—to capitalism? Who is responsible for the growing crisis?" We are asked: What is the party today—a debating society or a real political force? Is it capable of keeping society from descending into the abyss of chaos?

[Correspondents] Urgent questions. But we can see from the editorial mail that it is not only Leningraders who are interested in them. This obviously is the reason for the many requests for more detail about the plenum.

[Gidaspov] Then we should look at the report again: "For the time being, people are still addressing these questions to us. Unless we—from the primary organization to the CPSU Central Committee—find answers to them and unless those answers are backed up by concrete action and a real program for the motherland's rebirth, tomorrow people will address their questions to other political forces."

Yes, the time has come to face up to the truth and evaluate the state of society realistically. That state should be defined as critical. What is the basis for this conclusion? First, the situation in the economy, which has deteriorated drastically. Take our region. The production of industrial output increased by less than 2 percent in the first 10 months of this year. Yet the growth in the population's monetary income was more than 15 percent. The ruble is being devalued, not only as the equivalent of certain material benefits, but also as an incentive in labor activity. More and more different goods, including essentials, are in short supply. The excesses of the cooperative movement are obvious. That has intensified the socioeconomic differentiation in society and has seriously affected the position of pensioners, invalids, and survivors of the blockade.

Even worse, many of the levers of management of society have been lost, and the slogan "Everything that is not banned by law is permitted" is often perceived as total permissiveness. Here both the executive authorities and new legal acts are sometimes powerless. Hence the strike movements and the growth in absenteeism.

Specific figures were cited at the plenum, but I do not think that is the crux of the matter. Let me note this: Social stratification and rampant crime, including organized crime, are undoubtedly processes that go together. An increase in wealth in one social stratum ricochets against another, and gives people a sense of distrust, malice, and aggression.

[Correspondents] The same anxiety, incidentally, has been expressed several times in speeches by certain people's deputies at the USSR Supreme Soviet session. Obviously at the plenum these questions were examined from a particular viewpoint, from party standpoints, as the saying goes.

[Gidaspov] Of course. It is not hard to see that this state of affairs leads to a deterioration in the socioeconomic climate and can—as we can see in some regions—bring masses of people out into the streets. Whom will they follow? What leaders and what programs will be supported at the coming elections? At the plenum we stated with conviction that the most pressing problems cannot be resolved without the CPSU, without the activation of the party's ideological and organizational potential. But it must be admitted that the party, after giving a powerful boost to revolutionary transformations and formulating the general guidelines for their development, got off to a slow start and failed to offer the leadership it should have offered.

Today we lack the things that were always the Bolsheviks' strength—clarity of long-term aims and the skill of showing people clear prospects for the future. Yet it was on this basis that the party's ideological commitment and authority, its real, not merely stated, leadership role, were formed.

A massive, deliberate erosion of socialist ideals is in progress and our motherland's complex, tragic, but also heroic history is being interpreted in a one-sided way. That cannot fail to have an impact. Against the background of unrestrained defamation of the party and of our entire past, nihilism, egotism, and spiritual aridity are cultivated. Can we observe these processes dispassionately? Or follow those voices that call on us to repent, repent, and only repent, to bow our heads lower and lower and hide our eyes from shame.... Keeping silent and saving face in this context is now immoral, to say the least.

[Correspondents] This appeal was made at the plenum: "Communists, let us raise our heads high, let us rally our ranks for the sake of socialism!" The Leningrad Communists' action program, as was noted in the report, maps out ideological and political guidelines, including a basis for unification with possible political allies. A

mechanism is also outlined for the party to cleanse itself of indifferent holders of party cards and for the CPSU to become a truly democratic political organization professing these principles: "Unity of aims—freedom of action," and "Those who are for socialism are with us." It is also stated that the program, which came out of consultations with Communists and all the inhabitants of Leningrad, sets a specific limit on political compromise.... What is meant by this?

[Gidaspov] This is a deliberate step. I repeat: We are resolutely breaking with the ideology of Stalinism and stagnation. But we are convinced of this: Our banner was and is the red banner. And on it is written: Lenin, October, socialism. We will cease to be ourselves if we waive our socialist values and allow zealous pseudodemocrats to fool people with nice fairytales about "people's capitalism," boundless democracy, and glasnost without the party. Communists have come out clearly against the denationalization of the economy and the legalization of private ownership. When the scale of the shadow economy is estimated at hundreds of billions of rubles and when 80 percent of the total sum of all savings bank investments belongs, according to some figures, to 5 percent of investors, it is not hard to imagine who, in these circumstances, would become the real owners of the factories and plants, newspapers and banks....

[Correspondents] Let us be frank, Boris Veniaminovich, along with approval of the Leningraders' position, people also express the view that the program they have adopted could boost the offensive against the democratic gains of perestroyka, against glasnost and pluralism of opinion. What do you have to say to that?

[Gidaspov] Ultimately there may be as many views as there are people. I too receive calls, letters, and telegrams, some of them from other cities. In general both Communists and nonparty people support us, and believe that party members have been on the defensive for long enough. It is necessary to fight for the party's prestige, first and foremost through action. When there is concrete action—and that is what the platform points to—then the trust will come back. The main thing today is to achieve positive developments that may be small to begin with, but are perceptible to people, in food supplies, the social sphere, and the utilization of production potential. And to that end it is necessary to work, to labor with redoubled energy, unremittingly.

[Correspondents] Some readers will object, and not without reason, that we have heard appeals to work before now. But it is clear from the state of our economy that they do not achieve their goals, and are thereby devalued.... And another thing: Are we not concerned about the danger that the desire to return to the old methods, to the administrative edict system, may prevail? Incidentally, some people regard you too as a supporter of the idea of returning to a "firm hand"....

[Gidaspov] I have already said at the plenum that I am categorically opposed to the label of a supporter of a "firm hand," which people try hard to pin on me. But I also said that meetings in the labor collectives and the letters I receive show unequivocally that people are tired of laxity and irresponsibility.

Unlike some people, I do not think that our perestroyka has become bogged down. No. But the first wave has passed—you know how in a stormy sea the first wave is followed by a recoil. But after that, the second wave should follow. When you go to labor collectives, especially at major enterprises, more and more often what you hear is: Let us work. So the second wave is approaching. We must take advantage of this mood, of people's enthusiasm, which for some reason has come to be categorized as a conservative and, so to speak, unacceptable phenomenon. As have patriotism and civic duty. Of course—to return to your question—it is necessary to work in a new way today. But there is no need to abandon everything that was done in the past, all the experience gained formerly.

[Correspondents] Agreed. And perhaps it is worth clarifying what we mean by this concept—working in a new way. It may mean one thing for economic leaders and another for party workers. A great many reproaches are elicited, in particular, by the nomenklatura approach in cadre work. There is undoubtedly a good deal of exploitation of this subject, some of it, we admit, in the press, but there are also grounds for criticism. For instance, party committees not infrequently see it as their task to act as a kind of filter for candidates for various posts. Yet Vladimir Ilich Lenin himself warned Communists against the temptation to indulge in bureaucracy, and called for less of the Tit Titych [character in satirical novel by Ilf and Petrov] approach—"I may approve, or I may not...."

[Gidaspov] Cadre work cannot be formalized. We must move away from the nomenklatura approach. You have to look for leaders, and they change. Today someone is a leader, but tomorrow, over the years, he loses his leading role. And in that time other people come forward. This must be taken into account. It must not be assumed that once someone gets onto the nomenklatura, his leadership is thereby ensured for a lifetime. That is not right. The party committee should keep dozens of people in its field of vision, new people with whom it is interesting to work.

In science, a system of promoting leaders has grown up over the centuries, they are judged by what the scientist has done, what he has published. In party work, a person usually follows a certain progression: instructor, deputy section chief, section chief, secretary, first secretary.... New approaches are needed.

[Correspondents] And how are the party committees in the city and oblast preparing for the elections to the soviets? Are they influencing the selection of candidates? There have been a great many misunderstandings and accusations of apparatus maneuvering in this context, especially during the elections of USSR people's deputies.

[Gidaspov] The position of the obkom and gorkom is this: It is important for the real leaders to be among the candidates. It is important to nominate those people—whether CPSU members or nonparty people—who can really work in the soviets without formalism, who can really get things moving. The executive authorities can then be formed from among these people—this requires competence and professionalism. Only naive people think that you only have to appoint someone, and everything will be fine. I had a laboratory assistant who used to say: Everyone can do it, if they appoint him.... No, you have to look—both through the labor collectives and in neighborhoods—for leaders who are capable of doing a professional job. Incidentally, it is easier to find them in the production collectives—there, people know what their colleagues are worth. But in the neighborhoods it is more difficult. But that, in my view, is the main task for the elections. Incidentally, it will be necessary to persuade people and to motivate them: After all, a soviet worker has important duties, and not everyone readily agrees to take them on. And also, you have to answer for what you do.

All the rest is in our platform. All the Leningraders are familiar with it, they themselves participated in its formulation. The Leningrad party organization is taking this program to the 28th CPSU Congress and to the soviet elections.

We are in favor of full power for the soviets—that is our party's course. Of course, in order to fulfill this task it will take time, a period of transition. But these are realities that those who often go to absurd lengths in their criticism of the administrative edict system are reluctant to recognize. They go so far as to renounce systems, structures, an administrative apparatus entirely. As if states that were not administered by anyone could exist. That is a dangerous delusion. If it is a delusion. It must be recognized that such views are expressed mainly by those who associate the destruction of the administrative edict system primarily with the removal of the party from political leadership. There are forces that regard the destabilization of society as being to their advantage, that seek to gain financial and political capital by any available means. The so-called "democratic public" intimidates the population with the threat of all kinds of political cataclysms, the imposition of a dictatorship, martial law.... All this, according to them, is contemplated by the apparatus, or, in their vocabulary, the partocracy. But what aims do they themselves pursue, those who call themselves, for instance, left radicals? They are waging a massive offensive on voters and publicizing their own participation in the formation of strike committees at enterprises. They are seeking to make a breakthrough to power. For what purpose? I need only cite one slogan from the banners that were waving above the "democratic forces'" column at the festival demonstration: "Let us strike at communism with perestroyka!" Is any commentary necessary?

Perhaps it is necessary, all the same. We were talking about the impossibility of going back to the past. Yes, it is impossible to go back. But only, it is true, on one condition: that we do not allow extremist currents to push us onto that path. And I can see no force except the party that is capable of withstanding them. Our slogan is: "For a way out of the crisis through political stability and democracy!"

[Correspondents] The question of Article 6 of the USSR Constitution is now being debated intensively—that is the mildest way to put it. In conversations and at rallies and meetings; even in parliament, there was a vote on whether or not to include it on the agenda for the Second Congress of People's Deputies. The subject was also touched on at the Leningrad plenum.

[Gidaspov] I said in the report—let me quote verbatim: "I agree fully with those Communists who believe that the party's leading role should not be declared in articles of the Constitution. It is like this: Either that role exists in reality, or it does not. It is well known that prior to 1977 this was not written into our Fundamental Law. But there were the years of Stalinism, voluntarism, and tyranny. Then it was added to the Constitution, but it did not prevent the development and deepening of the period of stagnation. So it is not a matter of declarations.

"But a fundamental document like the USSR Constitution cannot be divided up into components. It is the law by which our society lives today. After all, as well as 'Article 6' there is also 'Article 2,' which clearly defines to whom power belongs.

"Therefore it is important today to formulate proposals for the Constitutional Commission on how to reflect correctly in the Fundamental Law the role of a political party in society. This question should also be taken into account in examining the new CPSU Statutes."

And of course, the main concern for Communists in such a big party organization as Leningrad's is to win people's confidence and strengthen the CPSU's vanguard role with concrete action. And that means more fully expressing and upholding the working people's vital interests and pooling all society's progressive forces that are based on socialist foundations.

[Correspondents] What ways of fulfilling this task have the Leningrad Communists outlined?

[Gidaspov] We defined our position fairly clearly at the plenum, and in the action program we formulated the basic guidelines toward which the Leningrad party organization will be oriented in following the path of perestroyka. The platform reflects our understanding of present-day socialism and the principles of the party's ideological and organizational unity and its renewal. We attach the greatest significance to the elimination of deformations associated with the distortion of the principle of democratic centralism, which at a certain stage in history was replaced by bureaucratic centralism. It is

necessary to link the concepts of "autonomy," "responsibility," and "effectiveness" of party work to form a single chain. How can this be done? Through conviction and party discipline.

I have voiced an idea that I know not everyone will find to their taste. The idea that a decline in discipline is becoming apparent in our party work, and that it cannot be overcome solely by persuasion and exhortations. At the present stage in the country's development centralism is simply necessary, and it should be based on the mutual responsibility of higher-level and lower-level organs. The organ that adopts decisions, up to and including the CPSU Central Committee, should bear party responsibility for its decisions, for their being well thought out and realistic. If the blame for the nonfulfillment of resolutions rests with a lower-level organ, it should be held strictly responsible.

This presupposes that the entire process—the preparation of decisions, their adoption, and the course of their implementation—should be conducted with glasnost and monitored by party organizations and Communists. And the obkom and gorkom members and particularly the full-time party workers should report to Communists and labor collectives and conduct a constructive dialogue with them. In short, everything should be done to ensure that primary organizations and rank-and-file Communists have a real opportunity to influence the policy formulated by the party and participate actively in its implementation.

[Correspondents] And one last question. Our readers have pointed out that at the plenum and in particular at the subsequent rally, there was rather sharp criticism of the Central Committee and the party leadership. There were posters, in particular, which were, in our view, far from innocuous. People are alarmed by the peremptory tone of certain demands, which sound like ultimatums. Is not this a manifestation of intolerance, embitteredness, and those extremes that you yourself have come out against during our talk?

[Gidaspov] It is necessary clearly to distinguish between the position of the plenum participants—I have already spoken about that, and reaffirm it now—and the content of certain slogans and statements at the rally. It is quite possible that such slogans and banners were brought to the rally not by people who sincerely care about the party and the socialist ideals of perestroyka—after all, nobody checked the party cards of those taking part in the rally. Naturally, nobody dictated the slogans to the Communists, either.

As for criticism of the center, this is by no means an attempt to blame our own concerns onto it. We support the line of the Central Committee, which constantly calls on us to seek new forms of work, new approaches in the development of intraparty democracy. Certainly Leningrad's Communists should pay more attention to their own shortcomings. No one will resolve on our behalf the problems that have accumulated in the city and oblast. Of course, one cannot agree with all the orators. But today people say what they think, especially at rallies. There is food for thought here. One can understand the common desire of Communists, and indeed of nonparty people, to understand the position of the center, its general line on the ideology and practice of perestroyka. This is not a lack of autonomy, a desire for "leadership tutelage." What is needed, as I have said, is clarity of general political assessments, without which it is hard to achieve unity of common action.

And another thing—people are tired of talk, words lose their value rapidly nowadays. What we need is concrete, resolute actions in the present very complex situation. These will be the measure of our progress along the path of perestroyka.

Journalist Sentenced for 'Slandering' KGB

AU2811182089 Paris AFP in English 1458 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov 28 (AFP)—A Soviet journalist, Sergey Kuznetsov, was sentenced Tuesday to three years in a labour camp for "slandering" the KGB and local party officials in Sverdlovsk, his wife, Tatyana Karelina, told AFP. Mr. Kuznetsov, who has been on a hunger strike for the past 41 days, is now extremely weak and has a heart problem, his wife added.

A correspondent for the unofficial newspapers GLASNOST and EXPRESS-CHRONICA and publisher of a local news sheet SLOVA URALA, Mr. Kuznetsov was first arrested in January for his reports critical of party and security officials. He was released conditionally in August after a 36-day hunger strike and demonstrations by supporters, but re-arrested in October following a public meeting attended by a local KGB chief, during which Mr. Kuznetsov reportedly accused him of involvement in the 1986 arrest of another political dissident who was sent to a mental hospital.

The sentencing of the journalist was confirmed by Soviet human rights campaigners, Andrey Mironov and Lev Timofeyev. According to Mr. Mironov, the sentencing "means Kuznetsov will die within a few days" because of his hunger strike. The trial was held in camera, a violation of the law, Mr. Mironov added. Mr. Timofeyev, of the Moscow Helsinki Watch Group and a former political prisoner, said the trial was an "arbitrary act against a independent journalist".

Three people, members or sympathisers of the Democratic Union, a fledging political party, refused to testify before the court and have themselves been arraigned for trial, Mrs. Karelina said.

Baku Reports Supreme Soviet Decision on NKAO

NC2911145989 Baku Domestic in Azeri 0440 GMT 29 Nov 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The newspapers report that during its 28 November meeting, the USSR Supreme Soviet examined the question of measures required to normalize the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. The USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a decision at the end of the debate on the matter by a majority vote.

The USSR Supreme Soviet decision on measures aimed at normalizing the situation in the NKAO was published in the newspapers today. Azerbaijan radio will broadcast the decision on its first program at 1015 Baku time today.

The republic's newspapers today published reports by the parliamentary correspondents of KOMMUNIST and BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY on the USSR Supreme Soviet meeting. The correspondents note the following:

The USSR Supreme Soviet examined the situation created in Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Repblic's [SSR] NKAO. [Name indistinct] chairman of the Union Soviet, briefed the deputies on the draft of the USSR Supreme Soviet's decision. After the draft was read for the second time in accordance with the request of the members of the Supreme Soviet, the people's representatives began to debate the document aimed at ending the meaningless interethnic discord, which has continued for nearly 2 years.

Elmira Kafarova, chairwoman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Anar Rizayev, first secretary of the Azerbaijan SSR Union of Writers; Yuriy Balayan, writer; Suren Arutunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; and a number of the other members of the USSR parliament addressed the debate. The deputies from the Armenian SSR left the meeting hall after many deputies from various parts of the Soviet Union supported the sovereinty of the Azerbaijan SSR and defended the view that normalizing the situation in the NKAO is essential. The fact that the members of the USSR Supreme Soviet approved the stand of the republic's deputies was confirmed by the outcome of the voting. The vote was 348 in favor and 4 against, with 20 abstentions.

The decision was approved.

Armenians, Azerbaijanis Mobilize

AU2911141789 Paris AFP in English 1309 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov 29 (AFP)—Armenians and Azerbaijanis mobilised Wednesday after a move by the Soviet parliament to settle a bitter inter-ethnic dispute over the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh.

The Soviet parliament's decision in Moscow late Tuesday to end direct rule imposed on Nagorno-Karabkh in January in a bid to end the two people's conflicting claims on the territory appeared to have satisfied neither of them, according to reports reaching here.

This is despite the fact that both have demanded an end to the special administration imposed by Moscow.

In Baku, capital of Azerbaijan, Leyla Yusunova, a spokesman for the nationalist Popular Front, said movement representatives would be meeting Wednesday with republic leaders to assess the changes proposed by Moscow.

A mass meeting was due to take place later in the day, notably to decide whether to suspend a strike which hit a number of factories Monday and Tuesday, she said.

The Armenian Supreme Soviet (parliament) meanwhile is to meet Thursday to discuss the latest developments, Vazgen Manukian, one of the leaders of the Armenian National Movement, said in Yerevan, the Armenian capital.

The Supreme Soviet in Moscow Tuesday evening held a closed-door session during which it voted to end direct rule over the nominally-autonomous region, which is populated mainly by ethnic Armenians but located inside Azerbaijan.

While the end to direct rule was welcomed by Azeris and Armenians alike, the parliament's proposal to enhance Nagorno-Karabakh's autonomous status seemed likely to prove too much for the Azerbaijanis and too little for the Armenians, analysts said.

Armenian deputies walked out in protest from a closed-door parliamentary session Tuesday, with the republic's president Grant Voskanian reportedly slamming the proposals because they maintained the territory within Azerbaijan.

"We cannot agree to them, because neither the Supreme Soviet, nor the government of Azerbaijan, according to their own statements, control the situation in the autonomous region," a Moscow Radio report quoted him as saying.

The nationalist Azerbaijan Popular Front has been calling for the republic's local parliament to reassert its control over Nagorno-Karabakh.

The region has been blockaded by A. erbaijani nationalists for several months and tension in the enclave is running high, with daily skirmishes between the warring communities and even attacks against army convoys bringing in supplies.

According to press reports, rail traffic has also been affected by the stoppage called to demand the end to Moscow's rule of Nagorno-Karabakh.

"The Supreme Soviet's decision cannot settle the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh, it's a question of self-determination for the people living there," said Mr. Manukian.

The Supreme Soviet in Moscow also proposed adoption within two months of a new law which would notably

introduce proportional representation in the autonomous region's governing bodies and guarantee economic independence.

Armenians from both Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia proper have however been demanding transfer of sovereignty of the region away from Azerbaijan.

That has been rejected by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, who has ruled out any changes to territorial boundaries within the Soviet Union.

The dispute between Armenians and Azerbaijanis flared 18 months ago following a massacre by Azerbaijanis of ethnic Armenians in the town of Sumgait.

Observers believe the Supreme Soviet in Moscow decided the session on the dispute should be closed so as to avoid reporting of a nationalist slanging match which likely erupted in the debate.

Baku 'Strained' Due to Strike

LD2911015589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2320 GMT 28 Nov 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The situation in the capital of Azerbaijan has become strained again, but not because of the weather. The mood of the people of Baku is (?like) cold, overcast weather. This is the second day work at industrial enterprises has been stopped in the city, on a call from the National Front of Azerbaijan. The main demand is the elimination of the Special Administration Committee in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the restoration of complete Azerbaijani sovereignty over that region. Urban transport has been functioning with interruptions, although the subway is continuing to work punctually.

Yerevan Says Azeri Strike Aims To Blockade Armenia

NC2911102489 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Blockade. This horrible word returned to circulation. A 10-day strike has been declared in line with the wishes of the Azerbaijan National Front. Why strike? Is it not obvious that the aim is to blockade Armenia and push the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] problem into oblivion? One can only be indignant and astonished at the fact that absolutely no measures are being taken to prevent this inhuman act in the Soviet Union where the same constitution applies to all and where all are obliged to live under the same laws.

The situation in the republic and Artsakh [NKAO] remains critical. The blockade will also create a grave situation for the entire country in view of the fact that Armenia has thousands of ties with all the cities and regions of the Soviet Union. Therefore, this blockade, like the previous one, will create difficulties for the country's thousands of enterprises; unfortunately, no one bothers about this. Therefore, we must bear this trial too.

Baku Calls on Refugees To Unite

NC2911093989 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 28 Nov 89

[From the Republican Press Review]

[Text] The effort to instigate discord between peoples who have been neighbors and who have also lived together, an effort which began early in 1988, and the publicity given to the pseudo Nagorno-Karabakh Movement, which [words indistinct], were a serious treachery against Azerbaijan Socialism and a treacherous blow to reconstruction. Tens of thousands of Azerbaijanis fled from their homeland and moved from Armenia to Azerbaijan as a result of this blow.

KOMMUNIST published a letter today to the immigrants by [name indistinct] Khidayatov entitled: The problems of immigrants and [words indistinct].

Khidayatov called on all the refugees to unite closely around the steadfast forces of our people, work in unison with all our people, and jointly resolve all difficulties and problems.

Armenian Deputy Views NKAO Parliament Debate

90US0174B Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 26 Oct 89 p 3

[Report on interview with Boris Dadamyan, USSR people's deputy from the Nagorno Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], by ARMENPRES correspondents L. Azroyan and Dzh. Balagezyan: "Artsakh: Old Problems, New Expectations"; in Moscow, date not specified]

[Text] As was already reported, a meeting of the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet was held in Moscow on 20 October. Along with other issues, the results of work of the Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities for the NKAO were discussed.

ARMENPRES correspondents L. Azroyan and Dzh. Balagezyan covering the 2d session of the USSR Supreme Soviet approached one of the members of the Artsakh delegation Boris Dadamyan with a request to discuss this meeting and the position of Armenian deputies on this issue.

He said: "The meeting was chaired by M.S. Gorbachev. Deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet and chairmen of the committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet took part in it. There were very many invited guests, including all USSR people's deputies from the NKAO.

"The discussion lasted more than 3 hours. All who wished to do so could speak in a quiet environment and state their position.

"The position of Armenian deputies is known in principle. It is outlined in the constitutional decision of the NKAO soviet of 20 February 1988. This is the unification of Artsakh with the motherland of Armenia on the basis of self-determination.

"The position of the Azerbaijani side is the exact opposite; it rejects the right to self-determination and maintains that the oblast may not be ceded by Azerbaijan under any circumstances.

"At the meeting of the presidium, we were familiarized with the draft resolution submitted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations. The Armenian delegation found all of the provisions of this draft unsatisfactory. Most likely, the draft represented an attempt at creating the illusion that the Karabakh problem has been solved. For example, it was envisaged to leave the NKAO within the borders of Azerbaijan while making it subordinate to the center, as well as to change the name of the Special Administration Committee to the temporary extraordinary commission for administering Nagorno-Karabakh. It was proposed to include in it the representatives of Baku in the process.

"It is an incomprehensible proposal. The question is: How should we regard the statements on Karabakh being subordinated to the center if a representative of Azerbaijan is to be on this commission? To my mind, this will be a joint Moscow-Azerbaijani administration. In this event, why use the expression 'subordination to the center"?

"Each of the USSR people's deputies from the NKAO stated his attitude toward this and other points of the draft resolution at the meeting of the presidium. At that point, M.S. Gorbachev who had become convinced that the draft needs to be worked on more, and definitely with the statements and proposals being taken into account, gave instructions to prepare a new draft proposal within 1 week, and familiarize with it members of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and people's deputies from the NKAO in order to submit this issue for consideration by members of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet at one of the forthcoming plenary meetings.

[Question] Boris Vartanovich, what is your attitude toward this approach to the issue—"leave within the boundaries of Azerbaijan?" How constitutional is it, and does this comply with the provisions of international legal documents?

[Dadamyan] M.S. Gorbachev believes—and this, perhaps, we cannot but agree with—that in resolving the issue of the NKAO there should be no victors. Personally, I understand this to mean that a compromise is at issue. Therefore, a solution has to be found halfway between the positions of the sides. Thus far, we have not seen such a solution in the draft submitted. I believe that the removal of the NKAO from Azerbaijan and its subordination to the center as a union federal territory is a compromise, and I said so at the meeting of the presidium. As I see it, this conforms exactly to the thesis that "there should be no victors."

[Question] We frequently say that the Karabakh issue requires a political solution. Does this mean a "constitutional" solution?

[Dadamyan] Yes, it is absolutely correct—only on a constitutional basis. However, recently we have been frequently complaining about the imperfection of our constitution which does not provide for taking full advantage of the right of this or that nation to self-determination. This is the case. However, I would like to note that the Soviet Union has signed a large number of international pacts; it also signed the UN Charter, the international pact on economic, social, and cultural rights, the pact on civil and political rights, and, finally, one of the major international documents, the declaration on human rights. That is, we accept all fundamental documents which determine the norms of international law. We are obligated to hold these principles in sacred esteem now that we have ratified these documents, all the more so that we are undertaking the creation of a law-based state.

Thus, Article 2 of the international pact on civil and political rights says that, in the event something is not envisaged by existing legislative measures, every state-party to the pact assumes the obligation to take, in keeping with its constitutional procedures and the provisions of the present pact, the legislative and other measures which may be necessary in order to implement the rights acknowledged in the present pact. What does this say? This says that the international community believes that the primacy of international law is unconditional. If the constitution does not comply with treaties and pacts which the state in question has signed the constitution has to be changed and brought into compliance with international documents. Actually, our state whose signature is also found on international acts should have done that immediately after the ratification of these documents. However, if we did not do it then what is to prevent us from doing it now and making corresponding amendments in the USSR Constitution?

I would like to bring the following to your attention: The first point of international documents, in particular of the pacts on economic, social, and cultural rights, is identical. It states: All peoples have a right to self-determination. By virtue of this, they freely establish their political status and freely ensure their economic, social, and cultural development. My question is: Who has a right to forbid taking advantage of our right to self-determination? The NKAO oblast Soviet of People's deputies already made a decision on self-determination on 20 February 1988.

Previously, I have referred to the opportunity of a compromise solution to the NKAO problem. Pardon the pun, but by acknowledging a compromise we ourselves compromise. After all, it follows from Lenin that if a

people has exercised self- determination no second opinion can exist. No opinion of the Supreme Soviet or some other organ is needed. If the oblast session of the NKAO has made a decision it is final and not subject to discussion.

[Question] If you were allowed to speak in the debate on the NKAO problem at a session of the Supreme Soviet what would you say first of all?

[Dadamyan] I would invite the attention of the deputies to Article 3 of the pact on economic, social, and cultural rights saying that all states-parties to the present act should encourage the exercise of the right to self-determination and respect this right in keeping with the provisions of the United Nations charter.

In this instance, I regrettably have to acknowledge that we have not seen thus far the respect of this letter of the law by the center. Moreover, the NKAO has been deprived of its organs in order to "extinguish" the activity of the populace—the oblast committee of the party and the oblast council of people's deputies have been dissolved, and a special form of administration has been introduced.

[Question] What do you expect of the discussion of this issue at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet?

[Dadamyan] What do I expect of the forthcoming discussion of the issue at the session? Half-measures yet again. I see them as a kind of framework, a Christmas tree losing its needles on which new ornaments will be hung.

However, let us not run ahead of events. The discussion of the proposals of the commission at a plenary meeting of the Supreme Soviet chambers, and subsequently the draft and the resolution will show the degree to which the Artsakh problem has come close to its logical conclusion.

Head of NKAO Planning Department Interviewed

NC2311112689 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 20 Nov 89

["Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (NKAO): Toward an Independent Economy. ARMENPRES Correspondent's Interview With Setrakyan, Head of the Main Economic Planning Department of the Special Administration Committee of the NKAO, Member of the National Council, and Candidate of Economic Sciences"—ARMENPRES headline]

[Excerpts] Stepanakert, 20 (ARMENPRES)—Comrade Setrakyan, the department you head was created only recently. What are the objectives behind the creation of a main Economic Planning Department in the NKAO?

[Setrakyan] Let me begin by saying that the NKAO has lagged behind in creating such a department with executive responsibilities. Similar departments were created back in 1987 in other oblasts at the request of certain regions of the country and in line with the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. However, this is a case of better late than never. At present the department is an independent subdivision of the Special Administration Committee. Its aim will be to ensure—under conditions of full economic accountability—the expansion of the role of territorial mangement in the NKAO economy within the framework of its unified productive operation and to accelerate economic development by coordinating the activities of all associations, enterprises, and organizations in the oblast. Let me stress in particular that the social sphere, which had been neglected for years, will at last be accorded priority attention.

According to its internal regulations, the main Economic Planning Department cooperates with the USSR Council of Ministers, the USSR State Planning Committee, the USSR State Committee for Material-Technical Supply, union ministries and departments, and executive bodies of the other regions of the country; it makes planning projections, carries out audits, formulates state orders, and shapes long-term economic norms and limits. [passage omitted]

[ARMENPRES] Could one conclude from your statement that the activities of the new subdivision will lead to the economic independence of the oblast? It is no secret that this issue is of concern to all Armenians of Artsakh [NKAO].

[Setrakyan] Self-determination has no meaning if the people cannot protect themselves and develop in accordance with natural laws. [passage omitted] The NKAO must first have organizations in all economic spheres working on the basis of full economic accountability. Second, these organizations must merge with the national economic structure of the repbulic of our compatriots and ancestors. Third, we cannot be successful unless the NKAO's economy actively penetrates the union and international market. [passage omitted]

[ARMENPRES] Do you think this department's plans can be implemented under the present conditions?

[Setrakyan] If the present political situation in the NKAO is an impediment to economic progress, then it must be altered. A destructive mistake was committed against the Armenians in the 1920's; the whole was artificially divided into parts. Therefore, why prevent their reunification and mutually beneficial progress? [passage omitted]

[ARMENPRES] What lessons should we learn from the blockade?

[Setrakyan] First, we must realize that it could recur because the country did not give it a political assessment. Second, taking the possibility of recurrence into account, the entire economy of the oblast should be prepared to face it. [passage omitted]

[ARMENPRES] We must extricate ourselves from the crisis. But, it is obvious that Azerbaijan is interested in deepening the crisis to achieve its objectives. What is your positioin on ties with Armenia, which is ready to extend economic aid to its compatriots?

[Setrakyan] Let us remember that it was said until recently that the NKAO was incorporated into the national economy of Azerbaijan at all levels. Today, we could convincingly prove that currently there is no such incorporation. In line with the relevant decision of the USSR Council of Ministers, seven associations which are economically independent of Azerbaijan have been created in the oblast and eight more are being set up. [passage omitted]

Sumgait Gorkom First Secretary Replaced

NC2211091589 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 21 Nov 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The report published in today's newspapers on the plenum held by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Sumgait City Party Committee [gorkom] notes that the plenum relieved Zulfu Gadzhiyev of his duties as first secretary of Sumgait Gorkom because of his appointment as deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Presidium. Eidar Ismailov, Sumgait Gorkom secretary, was unanimously elected first secretary by secret ballot.

Viktor Polyanichko, second secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee; [name indistinct], a machinery worker affiliated with the Sumgait Construction Trust No 2; (?Rukhullayeva), an operator affiliated with [words indistinct] production union; (?Karburova), a [word indistinct] affiliated with the Azizbayev chemical industry production union; and (?Azimov), deputy chief of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Organizational Party Work and Cadre Affairs Department, participated in the work of the plenum.

Turkmenistan Party Central Committee Meets

LD2411133189 Ashkhabad Domestic Service in Russian 1655 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Nebit-Dag. At the 16th Plenum of the Turkmenistan Communist Party [CP] Central Committee, the unsatisfactory supply of the oil region's workers with foodstuffs and vital industrial goods was discussed.

Comrade Niyazov, first secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived in Nebit-Dag today to acquaint himself with the state of affairs. He took part in the meeting of the buro of the gorkom which discused this matter. Turkmenistan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Trade Minister Durdyyev, who spoke at the meeting, told of the work of the town's trade enterprises which is giving rise to justified reprimands by the oilmen and promised that immediate measures would be taken to improve the population's supply for goods in everyday demand. [passage omitted]

Comrade Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee, enquired about the life of the region's workers, their supply with foodstuffs and goods, progress in the election campaign, and the state of interethnic relations. He came out with a number of specific proposals to improve the forms and methods of work of the gorkom and of the gorispolkom.

The meeting of the gorkom bureau defined measures to resolve socioeconomic problems. The meeting of the gorkom bureau was attended by members of the Bureau of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee Durdyyev and Mogilevets and Turkemnistan SSR KGB Chairman Arkhipov.

Uniate Church Appeals to Gorbachev, Bush

LD2811000689 Kiev in English to Europe 1900 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] A divine service involving more than 100,000 Greek Catholics [Uniates] has recently taken place in Lvov, western part of the Ukraine. The participants of the service demanded that the Ukrainian Catholic Church should be legalized. Ivan Gel, head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church Committee, spoke before the service. He read the appeals to Mikhail Gorbachev, the U.S. President George Bush, and to Radio Vatican. The idea of legalizing the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church was dominant in all these appeals, and Ivan Gel said that the legalization would be a triumph of (?good sense).

Russian Orthodox Demonstration in Ukraine Viewed

LD2011023889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Video report by political observer Aleksandr Tikhomirov in the studio and correspondent Vladimir Lyashko in Lvov; from the "Seven Days" newscast]

[Text] [Tikhomirov] For 3 days now I have seen a crowd of singing people down below my office in Ostankino. Who are they, people ask. They say Uniates from Lvov. They are waiting for help in resolving their problems, including from television. [video shows line of 30-40 people standing, singing and holding banners reading: "Lvov Cathedral: the deed of Stalinist terrorists"; "The heirarchy of the Russian Orthodox Church is stirring up religious hatred in the Ukraine"; "The Ukrainian Catholic Church—a victim of Stalinism today!"; "M. Gorbachev: Why don't you answer our appeal?"; "People of goodwill, show solidarity with Ukrainian Catholics in the struggle for our truth!"; "The Russian Orthodox Church cannot, and has no right to decide the future of the Ukrainian Catholics!"; "There are 5 million Ukrainian Catholics: We remain second-class citizens!"; "Without the rehabilitation and legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, there can be no democracy!"]

[V. Lyashko] On 29 October, supporters of the Ukrainian Catholic Church willfully occupied one of the largest Orthodox churches in Lvov, the Church of the Transfiguration. Orthodox believers were evicted and services in accordance with Greek Catholic canons are being held. The sermons contain insults against the dignity of the Orthodox Church and its priests and call for other Orthodox churches in Lvov to be seized. [video shows church and people surrounding it]

Russian Orthodox clergymen in Lvov held a march from the Cathedral of Saint Yuriy to the occupied church and held a demonstration outside the building of the Lvov City Soviet of People's Deputies. [video shows march accompanied by much shouting]

[Unidentified clergyman, speaking in Ukrainian] And we haven't come here to fight. We haven't come to do anything wrong. We have merely come to testify that we want to ask the government, the city soviet, the chairman of the city soviet, esteemed Bogdan Dmitriyevich, and all the leaders here of our city, to ask our townhall, the city's mayor, or other employees to help us get back this sacred place. [video shows large mass meeting and clergyman speaking to it]

[Lyashko] The executive committee of the Leninskiy rayon soviet of people's deputies condemned the seizure of the Church of the Transfiguration. Dozens of appeals and protests from Orthodox believers have been received at the procuracy of this rayon. Unfortunately, the efforts of the city's authorities to resolve the conflict that has arisen have led to nothing.

[Tikhomirov] How did events develop further? Our Lvov correspondent Vladimir Lyashko is on line.

[Lyashko] In the first few days following the seizure of the Church of the Transfiguration, Patriarch and Exarch of the Ukraine Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev and Galicia arrived in Lvov. He held a meeting with representatives of the city's intelligentsia. Unfortunately were were unable to film this meeting, but I was present.

[Tikhomirov] And what kind of ideas were expressed there?

[Lyashko] Well, you know, there were different views. Some, for example, proposed that the seized church be left with the Greek Catholics, and not to take the case to court, presumably so as not to inflame passions in the city.

[Tikhomirov] And how did Father Filaret respond to that?

[Lyashko] The Exarch of the Ukraine noted that to give up the Church of the Transfiguration in the present situatiion would mean that we bless lawlessness, and that illegal actions were carried out against this church. In order to be as precise as possible, Aleksandr Nikolayevich, I would like to cite his remarks in part. The problem of the Greek Catholic Church must be resolved and religious figures should resolve it, and not people, and not those people who are trying to earn dubious political capital out of this problem. The Exarch went on to say that we will resolve this matter at a meeting between a delegation of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Holy See in Rome.

USSR Deputies, Moldavian Front Members Meet

90UN0330A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 12 Nov 89 p 1

[ATEM report: "Meeting With USSR People's Deputies and Members of the People's Front Executive Committee"]

[Text] On 11 November members of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers met with USSR People's Deputies P.D. Buburuz, N.T. Dabizha and I.D. Khadyrke and members of the Moldavian People's Front Executive Committee.

The leaders of the republic called on the USSR people's deputies and members of the Moldavian People's Front Executive Committee to exert every effort to remove the tension and stabilize the situation in Kishinev, adopt effective measures to prevent illegal actions on the part of Moldavian People's Front supporters, refrain from unsanctioned measures and start a constructive dialogue with all who are interested in a recovery in the social and political situation in the Moldavian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic].

The USSR people's deputies and Moldavian People's Front ispolkom [executive committee] members who spoke at the meeting attempted to dissociate themselves from the outrages and hooligan stunts organized at the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] building and said that these were the work of extremist people with no connection with the Moldavian People's Front. It was observed in the speeches of the Moldavian People's Front ispolkom members that the social and political situation in the city was inflamed to such an extent that they were incapable of controlling it. At the same time, however, some of those invited to the meeting expressed a willingness to participate most actively in joint actions with leaders of the republic geared to a normalization of the current situation.

Estonian Parliament Rejects Language Law

LD2711230489 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1800 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Something very essential, (?topical) and of great concern was discussed today in Tallinn, at the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. Over to Ain Saarna.

[Saarna] Today at Kadriorg, the language-protection committee of the Supreme Soviet Presidium met again, in order to assess the Moscow draft law on the languages of the USSR peoples. The stance of the commission was unanimous: a language law of this kind is completely

unacceptable to us. Mati Hint, deputy chairman of the language-protection commission, was willing to explain.

[Begin Hint recording] Well, there is no other path left to us, because this all-union language law, once it is adopted, would completely nullify the Estonian law on language, and we would end up in a worse situation than we were in before the Estonian law on language. It was at least possible to debate around the Estonian law on language, if a person has to know the Estonian language, at least to attempt to make this requirement. After the all-union language law, the situation will be such that everywhere knowledge of the official language of the Soviet Union will suffice. This is definitely a law through which we will be pushed out of the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

[Saarna] But how is one to explain that there is no protest of this language law heard from elsewhere in the union?

[Hint] Well, first of all because, thanks to the 70-year-long effort of Soviet power, the language situation in the Soviet Union is extremely depressing. For a number of union republics, a law of this kind, which altogether provides a right for the language of the union republic to be used, would already serve as a ray of hope. [passage omitted] And the situation is similar in the majority of union republics, with things being different only in the Baltic lands, in Georgia, and to a degree in Armenia, and then, of course, at the low colloquial level in the Islamic union republics. On the whole, the situation is so depressing that even such a law, which would deal us a death blow, would be a shake-up to the others and may provide the completely dead with a faint hope of reawakening. [passage omitted]

Estonia's Titma Predicts 'Crisis'

90UN0315A Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian 31 Oct 89 p 2

[Statements by Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, Doctor of Philosophy Mikk Titma, and Secretary of the Tallinn City Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia Yaak Saarniyt at the meeting of the Tallinn City Political Club reflecting their "personal opinions"; publication prepared by M. Levin: "Predictions and Reality"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

Is There Light at the End of the Tunnel?

We are still interested in the leaders not for their own sake but for the sake of the mass which they head. It is obvious that the more opportunity there is for the people to express themselves the higher the quality of their "leaders" is. However, where will they take the people they lead? What is in store for us?

[Titma] Marx had an illusion: At some point, society will become so rich that the individual will want and start to work for free. Let us say bluntly that the attempt at building such a society in our country has failed. I take a very pessimistic attitude toward some issues for the very reason that we are poor. Perhaps, we will only be able to turn into a really rich society by way of private property. This is why it is planned to develop in our republic not only the cooperative and other forms of property which are conventional by now but also private property. We should abandon the dogma; we should see that the more resources a society has the freer it becomes. This is the kind of society that needs to be created, of course, ruling out extreme social injustice and inequality. In the process, the strata which cannot take care of themselves—retirees, young people, children—ought to be taken care of socially and financially... In this manner, a certain degree of social justice will be maintained. Perhaps, all other forms of property need to be evaluated anew, in line with what their performance is.

However, the questions put to us presuppose an answer in the form of a prediction. You know, they frequently reproach me for being overly gloomy and "scaring" people. However, I am not just a secretary of the Central Committee of the party; after all, I am a scientist. Therefore, I try to perceive processes under the surface. I would like my prediction to be erroneous, but now I predict: If this winter is cold to any degree our situation will become very difficult. Cities will be left without heating, and the infrastructural networks supplying the populace with [everything from] foodstuffs to heating will begin to break down. The lack of milk or fuel oil will not be the reason. Something else is at issue—that the administrative-command system is no longer efficient but there is no (or almost no) other system as of now. Say, the city Executive Committee in Tallinn has already been paralyzed by the forthcoming elections; after all, its employees are kind of suspended; they do not know whether they will remain in their positions. Under these circumstances, they are indifferent with regard to what-do-you-call-them heating mains... Meanwhile, Tallinn is far from the worst locality in the country! As a sociologist, I can imagine what the situation in the provinces is, and not only in the provinces. Therefore, circumstances are possible under which an entire city will have to be resettled; social disturbances would break out... I still cannot imagine how such a situation is to be overcome without emergency measures.

However, I am distinctly aware that any changes for the better are ensured by persistent and meaningful labor. In the process, we should not hope that manna will rain on us from the sky. All kinds of benefits cannot be provided for all at nobody's expense; this will not work. However, it is extremely easy to appeal and to promise, but it is inadmissible to fool people. This is why we need to evaluate soberly what we have and at whose expense or from which account we may acquire something. This is exactly why I think that the time ahead of us is going to be complicated.

Here is one more prediction. The crisis which will determine the future development of our country will hit no later than 6 months from now. It will indicate the path which we will follow. What can we see as of now?

First, the mood in favor of returning to the time of stagnation dominates. I mean nostalgia for the time when at least there was no need to stand in soap lines and there was some kind of order... In the name of this, a sharp turn may be taken, and the removal of M. Gorbachev is not ruled out. If this comes true our prospects are sad. Second, a state of emergency may be imposed with consequences which, as I see it, will not be a prolonged negative influence on perestroyka processes. After all, as a leader Gorbachev does not desire to merely reinforce his power. He is above this: He wants and does everything in order to lead the country to a new standard of living. Is it possible to accomplish this by constitutional means, acting through the Supreme Soviet? I view this possibility with considerable skepticism. Nonetheless, in this case, pluralism will grow, including political pluralism. This will entail different scenarios of the way out. I believe that the way out is going to be regional. The centripetal forces will not succeed in halting this movement; in the process, this movement is going to be peculiar: one kind in the Baltic area, a different one in the Altay, and yet another in the Caucasus, that is, the country will turn out to be very profoundly differentiated. Political pluralism will also become more profound and extensive. I am not afraid of it; I believe that our society is educated enough for it. As far as Estonia is concerned, I believe that both the Estonian and the Russian communities will still be able to cut off the extreme elements, and a certain parliamentary balance of interests will emerge. Unfortunately, at present I cannot make you rejoice over anything else. For as long as we do not have our own currency we will not be able to develop rapidly. Ration cards are no panacea in this sphere though this is a real path toward our own currency. Therefore, they should not be set one against the other. Our own currency is needed in order to make the economy into a real force. Then we will arrive at the convertible ruble, and subsequently the standard of living will begin to increase, though not right away—all of this, of course, provided that Estonia will remain in the USSR.

If we assume that Estonia secedes from the Soviet Union our economic situation will deteriorate, and considerably so, even compared to the present one. After all, the union market is the only resource we have. We will be able to secure the economic potential necessary for the most rapid development possible by being a conduit for Western capital, expertise, and technology to the all-union market.

These are the variants of the prediction. It is difficult to say at this point what the specific real path is going to be, all the more so because radical forces hold an advantageous enough position in order to affect the situation destructively. Certainly, as soon as a dictatorship is reintroduced there will be no problems! Dictatorships get them out of the way fast, both literally and figuratively. Does our society want it? The answer is unambiguous to me, and this is why I attach hopes to the wisdom and calm of the people. Such wisdom and calm will lay a foundation for a realistic program and constructive advancement.

Schedule for Tomorrow

In the previous topic, we strayed quite far away from the issue put forth in the agenda. However, the digression was forced: There is no understanding the role of leaders without understanding prospects. However, not only individual personalities but also an entire party which was considered for decades to be "the collective inspirator and organizer of our victories" appear in the role of leaders in our country. How is the function of the party going to change now? After all, the situation in the state itself has changed...

[Saarniyt] To my mind, this is the most burning issue in our society. We have come to the point at which emergency measures are needed in this sphere as well. My subjective perception is that with the action program and the social composition it has today the Communist Party of Estonia will not linger on until the congress in August-September of next year. At present, we have many variants of the action program: from Stalin's and Stalinist to social-democratic. The People's Front is proposing to create an independent integral state in Estonia; another proposal is to form an autonomous region in the northeast. This describes the range and provides an example of absolutely different views of socialism and of perestroyka... I believe that we no longer can keep in the same party people with absolutely different convictions: from Lauristin to Lysenko and from Kogan to Savisaar. The point in the constitution on the dominant role of the CPSU has also become the subject of a discussion. Probably, a truly democratic and efficient parliament should become the center, but for now it does not exist.

The time has come to consider this: Could it be that we need both the CPSU and the Communist Party of Estonia in the republic? In this event, the CPSU in Estonia would reflect the interests of the Russian-speaking populace (though some percentage of Estonians would perhaps belong to it) whereas the Communist Party of Estonia would reflect the interests of the indigenous population. However, to this end we need to talk objectively and extensively about what is happening here, and prepare the center as well for this turn of events... Most importantly, it is high time to understand that it is no longer possible or admissible to manipulate the people on the waves of political activity ranging from strikes to mass demonstrations. We cannot toss and kick our public opinion from one wall to the other, from Stalinism to social democracy. This means that we need to make an honest statement about the situation in the republic as soon as possible at a plenum of our party. Also, we need to announce the beginning of a discussion on the issue of independence of the republic Communist Party. Apparently, it is feasible to convene a congress of the Communist Party of Estonia before the beginning of parliamentary elections in Estonia because I am sure that

we will have a parliament consisting mainly of non-party members. After all, Maryu Lauristin or Edgar Savisaar will hardly remain in this party, as well as others... The bulk of the Estonians will also follow the socialist or social-democratic and other parties—such is reality because their ideas are attractive and, on top of that, carry the reflection of the historical past and the traditions of history. The official recognition of a plurality of parties cannot be ruled out; actually, it already exists.

However, are we prepared to proclaim the independence of the republic Communist Party soon? I believe that we are not. We still have to work in this matter avoiding suddenness and likewise avoiding extremism.

[Titma] It is understandable that the party, the current generation of its members, is responsible for the destiny of perestroyka. It needs to be understood that actually perestroyka is a thankless endeavor for them. After all, the people are demanding perceptible changes for the better in their life and reproach those who are responsible for perestroyka if these changes do not come quickly. Reevaluations begin right away, primarily, the reevaluation of leaders. The blame for the past devolves in the process on specific people rather than on an abstract Communist Party. This is what makes the position of the current party leaders and the party itself tragic. Hence also the search for a way out.

The independence of our party is proposed. As it turns out, this helps very little. Then it is proposed to rename the party. Naturally, this is not effective either. A third way out emerges. It is associated with the emerging need for some new ideological, conceptual foundations. Parties might be formed on their basis (understandably, in this sphere the experience of adjacent countries is lucrative from which even the names are borrowed. This is a normal, regular practice). In Estonia, we are also going through this stage now.

Perhaps, the development of political pluralism in our republic has outpaced, so to say, the all-union statistical average. However, over there they will also draw closer to us in the foreseeable future. We have already predicted today what this may bring about. The role of leaders is visible even more distinctly against this background.

The phenomenon of B.N. Yeltsin is characteristic from a similar point of view. This is a negative phenomenon because the authority of Boris Nikolayevich is based to a great degree on the dissatisfaction with the current party leadership in the ranks of which there indeed are people who subscribe to views which are not the most progressive.

We should take into account the fact that thus far the development of perestroyka has affected the political system and its administrative-command methods most of all. However, it has destroyed the old economic system but has not created a new and more efficient one thus far. The common people are outraged by the fact that new difficulties have turned out to be the only real result of perestroyka for them. This is what they fault the leaders for, including Mikhail Sergeyevich. This is where prerequisites emerge for the legal [pravovoy] coup in combination with social conditions. We do have such prerequisites, and this is terrible. How to carry out such a coup is the only issue.

The indignant mass of so-called "common people" is ready to sweep in a new hardline leader on the wave of its disappointment. He is indeed going to apply a full measure of repressions, and they will be perceived to be the norm. As an abstract figure, Yeltsin expresses a multitude of hopes and expectations, all the more so because the people are tired of difficulties which their life consists of. No matter what Yeltsin does the mass consciousness will forgive him (however, PRAVDA and central TV have not always treated him fairly). This is why it makes no sense to fight him personally. One can successfully fight him as a phenomenon by solving specific problems of people. This is the only way. Only in this manner can the leaders of today gain authority in the masses. Then the people will follow their leaders. [passage omitted]

Estonian Independence Party Profiled

90UN0301A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 26 Oct 89 p 3

[Interview with Tunne Kelam, member of the leadership of the Estonian National Independence Party, by V. Akimov: "'We Have No Hatred Toward the Peoples Living in Estonia'"]

[Text] **In offering to the attention of readers of SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA a new publication affording a graphic idea of the spectrum of political forces operating in the republic currently, the editorial office requests that account be taken of the fact that it does not share the opinion of the participants in the interviews.**

[Kelam] Official propaganda calls us extremists. But our whole so-called "extremism" consists merely in us striving for the most normal things: We want the people, whose forefathers have lived on this soil for at least five millennia, to be the true master in their own home and to be able here, on this territory predestined for them by fate, to struggle for their continued existence. Many representatives of the Estonian National Independence Party (PNNE) understand, better than others, perhaps, the problems of other nationalities. Dozens of us have been prisoners of Soviet camps and, coming into contact there with other political prisoners from different parts of the Soviet Union, have grasped full well that our peoples have a common enemy—the totalitarian political system—and that we are all its victims.

[Akimov] That is, you believe that the troubles of the Estonian people are not the fault of the Russian people?

[Kelam] I would put it this way: The ordinary Russian individual is not to blame for our troubles. There never was in Estonia generally any particular enmity toward

the Russians. On the eve of the war Estonians were very hostile toward the Germans. The following is a known fact: In 1939 Tallinn was visited by German warships. The city's population literally attacked them. A political sensation was the result. But the first year of the Soviet occupation was pivotal in this respect. The terror of 1940-1941 disposed Estonians against the Soviet system.

I believe that a principal factor of the exacerbation of inter-ethnic contradictions has been the different level of knowledgeability of Estonians and Russians. It seems to me that the majority of Russians, Ukrainians and Belorussians who have come here were misled by official propaganda. It was impressed upon them that here was a backward country and that they would help us and would bring us big culture. Those who succumbed to this talk cannot be blamed for having come to be on the territory of another state.

[Akimov] What aim does the PNNE set itself?

[Kelam] The most concise program is set forth in the very name of our party—the restoration of the independent state which existed de facto up to 1940. But in achieving the aim we recognize only peaceful, democratic methods, rejecting, in principle, violence as a means of solving political problems.

A national referendum is not a matter of urgency for our party, there being absolutely no need for this because the Estonian people defined their position back in 1918. We should now be tackling more practical problems and struggling for the creation of normal conditions for the development of democracy. Hitherto the reformist path of development has been associated with the current political structure of society. The creation of a multiparty system—this is certainly today a most important question en route to an independent Estonian state. Its realization could be a guarantee of truly democratic development.

[Akimov] I have heard the opinion that the achievement of Estonia's independence is for your party an end in itself, there being nothing after this.

[Kelam] No, this is, of course, not the case. At our recent congress, in August, we adopted a program which speaks of our future intentions. A state of national independence is only an indispensable condition of the creation of a national state, within whose framework—and this is shown by world practice—the optimum solution of questions of further development is possible. How do we see an independent Estonia in the future? We are against it being only a Western-model state. Our people have borne such tremendous sufferings that we have, in half a century, lost one-fourth of the nation. All these sacrifices, all these sufferings must be comprehended, and lessons for the future must be learned from them. We have no wish to borrow Western mass culture. A very important task is to develop Estonian culture and combine the people's traditions with the culture of the modern world. Without having accomplished this task, we will, I believe—like all other states, incidentally—run again and again into the most serious problems which exist in the West. I refer to problems connected with the ecology, environmental pollution and the general decline in the level of real culture. We believe that all the Baltic states, taking their own experience as a basis, could be intermediaries of a kind between East and West, having very good relations with both sides. Generally, however, we believe that in discussing the model of the future Estonian independent state it is necessary to try to use to an equal extent all that is good that there is to be found both in socialism and in countries with a market economic system.

Our program is quite clear on the nationality issue. While striving for a situation whereby the indigenous people—Estonians—remain the majority on their native soil, we declare that compelling by forcible methods citizens of other states to quit Estonia is impermissible. Everything must be decided peacefully, on the basis of the rules of international law.

[Akimov] But this is precisely what many present inhabitants of the republic—non-Estonians—fear. They argue approximately thus: They will not evict us forcibly, but will create the allegedly legal conditions whereby we run off ourselves.

[Kelam] We make no provision for the adoption of discriminatory laws. Nor could a democratic state—and we aspire, after all, precisely to the creation of a democratic, law-based state which would adhere to the defense of human rights—adopt such laws. Under the conditions of a market economy—this being a plank of our program—a situation where a manpower surplus emerged could arise. But this would affect people of all nationalities to an equal extent.

It is difficult to say today what in fact the Estonian state will be like. This will be decided by the legitimate representatives of the Estonian people at a legal, internationally recognized congress of the citizens of Estonia. But while supporting the present activity of the Estonian citizens' committees geared precisely to the preparation of this congress, we advocate people who are not citizens of the Estonian republic being able to choose and determine their attitude toward citizenship freely. It needs to be clearly understood that acquisition of citizenship in this case will entail not only perfectly definite rights but also obligations, including renunciation of USSR citizenship.

[Akimov] Is your party taking part in the present elections to the local self-management bodies?

[Kelam] The PNNE believes that since the time of occupation through the present, Estonia has lacked normal, democratic representative organs of power. By the standards of international law they are illegal inasmuch as the formation of both the Supreme Soviet and the local self-management bodies has taken place under the conditions of dictatorship and terror. For the restoration of normal conditions it is necessary, in our opinion, that the forces of occupation first of all be

withdrawn (this does not, of course, preclude special agreements on the presence of forces on our territory). But today actual conditions are different. Taking them into consideration, we do not rule out as a means which could contribute to a normalization of the situation our participation in the present election campaign. As a party, we cannot take part in the elections since we are not officially registered. Our council has decided that members of PNNE local organizations may, if they so wish, participate in the elections individually or in alliance with other democratic movements. We have as yet objected only to coalitions with the Communist Party, not ruling out here cooperation with individual members thereof. But this again not on a party, but on an individual basis. We believe that the possibility of concluding alliances and blocs with any other political forces and movements will depend on the aims of these movements and the methods by which they intend achieving these aims. That is, the question of ethics is a very serious one for us. The situation—both political and economic—is today so serious that it is necessary, we believe, to take advantage of all opportunities for the practical solution of the problems we face.

[Akimov] Is there not a certain contradiction in the fact that on the one hand you deny the legality of the current authorities and, on the other, want these authorities to recognize your party and to register it?

[Kelam] This is, in a sense, sophistry. Similar situations exist in every occupied country. We are interested purely in the practical aspect—we need to have an opportunity for organized activity and propaganda of our aims. In this sense our wish to be registered is perfectly explicable.

[Akimov] How do you evaluate your party's place and role in the present specific political situation, what is your social base?

[Kelam] To judge by the data of a recent public opinion poll conducted by "Maynor", approximately 22 percent of the Estonian population is in sympathy with us. We are not some nationally exclusive organization. There are among us Russians who support the ideas of the PNNE. Socially the party is also highly heterogeneous and essentially represents a cross-section of our society. But the PNNE's role needs to be evaluated, it would seem to me, not only in terms of the numbers of persons and the qualitative composition but in the context of the political situation. We have been the first on many issues. There have been risks here, and PNNE members have been prepared for them. A salient feature of membership of our party is that we have no illusions concerning a career within the framework of the existing political system. In this sense things are easier for us. Second, the point of the PNNE's activity is to expose political deals struck in violation of commonly accepted ethical standards. Without this it is impossible to guarantee stability of movement en route to independence. Third, we see as our role the formulation of models of a future Estonia, bearing in mind our political and ethical experience.

Campaign for Soviet Nominations in Latvia Ends

LD2711225789 Moscow TASS in English 2112 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Riga November 27 TASS—By TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina:

The struggle for deputy mandates of Latvia's local soviets, now waged by its political forces has entered a crucial stage. Nominations campaign is over. The nominees number 24,500, three fourths of them being Latvians.

The average figure for the republic is two people for one city, district, settlement and rural Soviet mandate, and almost five competing for one mandate in Riga, the capital.

Each candidate has lived in Latvia not less than five years: This is a condition laid down in the election law. For the rest, the composition of candidates reflects a diverse and often contradictory spectrum of views and sentiments in Latvian society.

The candidates' positions differ in a number of ways. Those espousing the Communist Party platform think of a sovereign republic being a member of the renovated Soviet federation. It will be noted that nearly half the candidates are communists. But some party members are also members of the Popular Front. "The Front's goal," leader of Riga Communists Arnold Klautsen believes, "is establishment of an independent state outside the USSR. But not all Popular Front members share this desire. That is why in a specific situation a dialogue and contacts with the Popular Front representatives are possible."

Popular Front adherents constitute roughly one third of all candidates. The International Front, a public organisation opposed to it and basically representing the Russian-speaking population, wields about equal clout in Riga but has a weaker standing in the countryside.

The electoral campaign is characterised not only by an intensified competition between different social forces. For the first time 18 per cent of candidates have been nominated by citizens' meetings in the areas of residence. For the first time courts are seized with conflicts which arose during the competitors' registration. As before young people are not active enough. Only 13.7 per cent of the candidates are below 30.

In the course of the preparations for the elections to be held on December 10, sociological opinion polls are being conducted. Socialists have come at a very unexpected conclusion that the Latvians are more concerned with social and economic than with social and political problems. These latter have ranked only fourth during the opinion polls.

Lithuanian Draft of USSR Ownership Law

PM2311135989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Nov 89 Second Edition p 1

[Draft USSR Law on Ownership in the USSR submitted by the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium and "published for nationwide discussion"]

[Text] The USSR is a union of sovereign states having their own state property. By treaty, the union republics use some of their property for the implementation of all-union functions (defense, the common foreign policy, and all-union programs.

I. Object of USSR Ownership

1. The following constitute the object of USSR ownership:

a) Financial resources available in the all-union budget and at the disposal of all-union organs;

b) Material resources acquired with all-union funds or handed over by the union republics to USSR ownership voluntarily and without charge by treaty.

Natural resources (land, its minerals, inland and territorial waters, forests, the airspace over the territory of the republic, and the continental shelf) are the property of the union republics. Their use for all-union needs is possible only with the consent of the union republic's administrative organs of state power and with compensation. The terms of compensation are established by treaty and met with resources from the all-union budget.

2. Financial resources are paid into the all-union budget in the form of: a) permanent payments (for maintaining defense installations and the all-union apparatus and resolving other all-union tasks), their size and procedure for payment being laid down by treaties; b) targeted payments intended to finance specific programs encompassing those union republics which have expressed the wish to participate in them.

3. Material resources are acquired using funds from the all-union budget and funds at the disposal of all-union organs. They may take any commodity form and are intended for the fulfillment of specific all-union programs, after the completion of which they must be sold and the funds thereby obtained transferred to the all-union budget.

II. Subject of USSR Ownership

All the union republics are the subject of USSR ownership. The functions of the subject of USSR ownership are performed by the USSR Supreme Soviet. The USSR Supreme Soviet selects the main administrators of this ownership in the form of executive organs of USSR power and establishes the limits of their activity; it also determines the purposes for which that part of the budget received from the union republics without any targeted purpose is to be used.

The use of USSR property without the consent of the USSR Supreme Soviet is illegal and will be prosecuted under the established procedure.

III. Ownership Relations Between the Union Republics

1. USSR property is that part of the transferred property of all the union republics which is formed from permanent payments and other possible revenue without targeted purpose. It is joint property and is used without determining each republic's share in the right to property.

The other part of USSR property, which is formed from the targeted payments, may be used: a) as common joint property; b) as common shared property—that is, with the specified shares of each union republic in the right to property.

2. In the event of a union republic seceding from the USSR, it receives:

a) Compensation in the amount of its common shared property. It may be received in the form of monetary resources or material resources located on the territory of the republic;

b) A part of the common joint property determined according to the share of participation by the union republic during its years within the USSR and to the size of the common joint property of the union republics at the moment of its secession from the USSR. It may be returned in the form of monetary compensation or material resources on the same terms indicated in subparagraph "a" of the present paragraph.

Lithuanian Debate on Property Relations Reported

LD1611181689

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 0800 GMT on 4 November broadcasts the second day of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet session. The deputies are debating a statement about Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic and USSR property relations. Deputy Kazimieras Motieka, a lawyer, makes a number of proposals concerning the wording of the draft law.

Egidijus Bickauskas, a USSR people's deputy, speaks in favor of adopting the statement because it will help fight against the numerous positions in the USSR law on property through which attempts are made in Moscow to completely legalize the establishment of a unitarian state.

Bickauskas cites a book on law entitled INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN PERSPECTIVE, which he says culd be dismissed as the opinion of only one person except that it, along with seven or eight deputies, was being sold exclusively to the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies during their session. He says he doubts that it was coincidental that sale of the book took place just before debate on the draft law on property ownership. He notes that this was the only book on nationality relations. At this point he reads, in Russian, passages

from the book: "The right of the republics to secede from the Soviet Union has had a negative psychological impact on the leadership of the party, the leadership of the country, and on society in general. The provision providing for the right of the republics to secede is purely formal in character. Formally preserving legal provisions is not always expedient and sometimes is even harmful. The question arises if it is expedient to preserve the right of republics to secede from the Union?

"To be quite honest, circumstances have developed in such a way that it is necessary to speak out about it openly, directly,, and firmly. At the moment it is not for the Marxists to develop the noble and natural aspiration for unity into a vague argumentation about the expansion of rights of the union republics and so on. Strengthening the economic independence of union republics runs counter to the idea of reinforcing the federation which has been reflected in party documents."

Bickauskas says the book's author claims the very concept of the USSR has already become obsolete and that it is time to change the country's name to "Union of Socialist Russia" where the Baltic republics would become a united "Baltic region." He says he cannot recall the name of the author, a woman, but that he will provide it the next day.

Deputy K. Prunskine is invited to sum up the debates. She says that the concept of property relations between the USSR and the Lithuanian SSR should not be presented in a detailed way. Details will be given later, when specific laws on property are adopted. Prunskine says that at the moment only the competence of the republic and that of the USSR on property has to be defined.

Following this, the statement of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet concerning the relationship of the USSR and the Lithuanian SSR property ownership is adopted and the session adjourns for 20 minutes.

When the session resumes, the motion "concerning the Content of the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet" is discussed. Vytautas Astrauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet delivers a report. He says that after a discussion on the proposal that the number of members of the Presidium should be increased it was decided that this proposal should be accepted. He proposes A. Bernotas, M. Domarkas, Justinas Marcinkevincius, Kazimieras Motieka, Romualdas Ozolas, and Alan girdas Zukauskas should be additionally elected to the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet. A secret ballot is taken on each of the candidates.

Following this, the session discusses the motion concerning cancellation of validity of the regulation of the USSR Government and of the CPSU Central Committee on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR, which grants some persons the right to receive accommodation and the right to abode under favorable conditions. Deputy Petras Ignotas, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, takes the floor.

He says that concern was expressed by the people of this republic about the decision of the Soviet Government to give the right to local authorities of the Far East or those in remote northern areas to build houses in this republic, so that workers could come and live here after they had worked in severe climatic conditions for a certain period of time. The same applies to servicemen in the Soviet Army. Deputy Ignotas proposes that these privileges should be now restricted. Deputy Povilas Morkunas says this problem is very accute in Siauliai because the rate of migration of servicemen into Siauliai is too high. Speaking about the problems caused by the Soviet troops based in the Klaipeda area, Deputy Vytautas Stepas says: "Whether we like it or not, military units are deployed in this republic. The servicemen who work there need accommodation space. This is the reality. However, the reality is also the fact that, on the other hand, this is done while bringing considerable harm to the local population. This causes, conflict of interest: On the one hand, providing fewer apartments for the servicemen would cause their dissatisfaction; On the other hand, the local population express their dissatisfaction that the servicemen are given apartments. Perhaps, the problem lies not only in the allocation of apartments. The problem of military units is common to the entire republic and concerns not only ecology, politics, social, national but also economic problems."

"In order to substantiate my statements," Stepas continues, "I would like to give you some examples which come from the lovely coastal area we all like so much. Let us take, for example, this: As we know, practically all the coastline from Klaipeda to Palanga is militarized. One is allowed to walk there and one is not, at the same time. However, the point is not in our being able to walk in the area or not. The coastal area, which belongs to this republic, is a gold mine for us, if I can put it like that. We have to develop it, we have to build there, and the hard currency should flow into the republican budget from there. And yet, this area is being protected from somebody or something. And what is more, the most beautiful spots have been taken over by the military units.

"The Klaipeda canal: This is the watering place of the city of Klaipeda. More than half of the city of Klaipeda takes its water supplies from there. However, a tank training ground has been set up there. Probably tank specialists are being trained there, but then, perhaps this is a military secret—I will not say anything for fear that the military will launch an attack on me for betraying military secrets.

"However, the point is not in this but in the fact that the servicemen have taken residence there and feel at home there, as they rightly should."

The deputy goes on to point out the amount of pollution which comes from the military unit and how it affects the watering fields. He notes that "there are 100 retired servicemen waiting for accomodation in Vilnius. According to the known order of the USSR Council of Ministers, apartments should be given to them within 3

months. This is unrealistic. If I am not mistaken, there are 29 retired servicemen waiting for apartments in Klaipeda. Only two of them want to serve in the army from this republic. Only two! others just arrive from other places. There is also the fact that servicemen work in the Kaliningrad oblast which is near Klaipeda, then after they retire they leave their apartments to their relatives there and place a request for a four bedroom apartment here in Klaipeda."

The deputy goes on to say that the problem of housing in this republic will not be solved if this practice is not stopped. "If we confine ourselves to solving only one problem, the problem of housing," he says, "then we will not solve anything at all. The issue of military units should be solved on a wider scale. In general, we should know how many people should be doing military service in Lithuania. How many servicemen should be present in this republic? Nobody asks for this information publicly. Perhaps it is a military secret after all. However, the people who have to know must be told in order to control the econmic implications."

In conclusion, the deputy reads an appeal from the Neringa people's deputies to the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR. The appeal begins with a description of the area as a future national park and its problems. It says: "There are many complex problems in Neringa. Among others, the problem of deployed military units on the territory of the nature reserve should be singled out. At present there five military subunits on the territory of the city of Neringa: In Juodkrante an area of about 5.8 hectares is taken up by military radar subunit no.20154; Land Border forces subunit no.2114 takes up about 2.8 hectares and 350 meters of the beach; the border marine troops and others occupy about 7.8 hectares with 300 meters of the beach area. There are also two units in Nida: Land Border Forces No 2114 occupy an area of about 1.3 hectares and the Border Marine Troops No 39078 occupy an area of 1.2 hectares."

The appeal expresses concern about the radar used by the military units and its possible effect on peoples' health. There is also an acute housing problem for servicemen. The appeal goes on to demand that the number of military units deployed in the area of the national park and nature reserve should be reduced.

Following this, Deputy Antanavicius takes the floor. He says: "From 1989 farms, enterprises, and organizations began working on the basis of economic accountability. However, the military commisariats continue to demand that means of transportation, tractors, and mobile cranes should be supplied to them free of charge. In addition, wages and salaries must be paid by the organizations, farms and enterprises for those called for repeated military training."

Deputy Antanavicius goes on to refer to the decrees and regulations which allow the military commissariats to demand all these services. He proposes that the validity of those regulations on the territory of Lithuania should be cancelled. He also say that the military budget should solve the problem of housing the servicemen as well as those soldiers who fought in Afghanistan. The text of the decision had been distributed to the deputies earlier, and is therefore not read in full. The vote is taken; 258 deputies vote in favor and the decision is adopted. With this the relay ends.

Bogomolov Interviewed on Perestroyka, Problems

AU2811171589 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 23 Nov 89 p 6

[Interview with CPSU member Oleg Bogomolov, director of the Economics of the World Socialist System Institute in Moscow, and member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, by Elfie Siegel in Moscow: "Market Economy and Private Ownership for the USSR"; date not given]

[Text] [Siegel] Where are the limits? How far can the East European countries go? Regarding the reunification of Germany, Nikolay Shishlin of the CPSU Central Committee said in the United States that reunification is the Germans' business. Politburo member Aleksandr Yakovlev made a similar statement in Japan. Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and Gorbachev have made it clear that the topic of reunification is not of current interest, and that the GDR will continue to exist as a state. Where are the limits to "perestroyka in the colors of the GDR"?

[Bogomolov] You know that the process of perestroyka includes the USSR's international policy. Here, too, we have abandoned many things that are called the heritage of Stalinism—neo-Stalinism—such as attempts to impose our will and our opinion on others. Now the principle of freedom of choice applies; every people must have their own fate—this holds true for all countries, including the East European countries. We have said that the truth cannot be monopolized by one single ruling group or one single ruling party, and that the social structures can also be very diverse on a socialist basis.

The practice of recent years has shown that these have not been mere statements but are real policy. We assume that the peoples in East Europe must choose their fate and their restructuring themselves. That applies also to the GDR, even though the GDR is a special case. Here the decisive word will be spoken by the German people in the GDR and in the FRG. However, the processes which led to the division of Europe have not yet ended; there are realities that we should take into account. The possible wish of the two German states for reunification should be decided in a way that takes into account the interests of all European powers, because that corresponds to postwar realities. Reunification cannot come about without consultation of the Americans, the British, the French, and ourselves.

[Siegel] There will be a summit meeting between President Bush and President Gorbachev soon. What do you

think—on the basis of your experience, and perhaps also because you are close to Gorbachev as one of his advisers—what role will the topic of the reunification of Germany play, and in addition, what role will developments in East Europe play? Will they be of central importance?

[Bogomolov] Well, that will depend on the two partners in the talks. Nobody can tell today whether this will be a central point or not. I think it will be one of several points. However, the topic of East Europe will certainly take an important place, as President Bush has already announced.

[Siegel] Regarding the limits to developments in East Europe—could it be that the GDR will become a bourgeois state?

[Bogomolov] Well, many hypotheses are possible. On the basis of our analyses, I can only say that the society which is being formed in the wake of reforms in the GDR will differ from the former society, meaning from state socialism of the Stalinist type; however, it will also differ from the West European societies, because the structures are different. In the GDR and the other socialist countries, ownership virtually only exists as state ownership, and that cannot just be privatized. By what criteria should the property be distributed among the people? After all, it belongs to every member of society.

In your country, property has been built in a long historic development process; share holding and cooperative forms of ownership developed, but that does not exist in the East European countries; it is beginning only now. It is clear that at least the structure of the economy will differ from the West.

Political differences will remain as well. The socialist ideas are deeply rooted in these countries and in the people, including the principle of social security, social justice, full employment, and no fear of unemployment.

On the other hand, we see in the West European countries more and more socialist elements—such as collective ownership, social guarantees which are even developed further than in the socialist countries, planning in the big firms in the form of market forecasts, for instance. In our country, plans were made at the state level, but not in enterprises. In your country, the state also works out plan strategies—are these not elements of socialism? I do not think that the old bipolar ideas of capitalism versus socialism are still valid; we must find new terms.

[Siegel] How do the various groups in the USSR assess what is currently happening in the socialist countries? What do the radicals and the conservatives think?

[Bogomolov] We are all highly interested in what is happening in the other socialist countries, because our societies are quite similar. The conservatives and the radicals assess the events differently; however, our leadership's reaction is calm and positive, also regarding the future of the USSR and Europe.

[Siegel] So you do not see the danger that some people in the USSR will try to turn the wheel back?

[Bogomolov] Such a danger does exist in our country, irrespective of the changes in East Europe. We ourselves have many difficulties, and the danger posed by conservative forces is growing to the extent that our problems are increasing, because these forces always have a chance of success in difficult situations. We are facing such a situation now. Perestroyka is in jeopardy; perestroyka could even be stopped or be paralyzed for some time.

[Siegel] What is the most important problem today that must be solved most urgently—agricultural reform?

[Bogomolov] Yes, among other things. The most important thing today is for us to put our internal market and the circulation of money in order, to stabilize the currency, and to reduce inflation to a minimum. We must begin with reforms in agriculture, because here we can expect early results for the market mechanism. Therefore, the laws on land and on ownership are very important; both should pave the way for the basic restructuring of our relationship with the land and with property. There are obstacles in this respect, which have not been overcome to this day. Solving the problems of agricultural reform must have priority in our economic policy.

[Siegel] But did the experts not know this 5 years ago already?

[Bogomolov] We knew it 20, if not 25 years ago, and gradually even the responsible people realized it. However, regrettably, we did not succeed in overcoming our ideological prejudices; political sluggishness is strong, and in addition, it is not just a matter of ideology. There are concrete interests of broad social sections, such as the local bureaucrats who do not want to lose their power and therefore cultivate the outdated dogmatic ideology. What do independence and freedom mean to agricultural producers? No commands any more, but the sale of their products according to the laws of the market, the exchange of equivalents. Today, the chiefs of some major agricultural enterprises have full power. They control their employees and workers and make them dependent on themselves, because after all, they get apartments and garden plots from them. These relations must be changed. The agricultural producer must become the master of the land; that is a very difficult and huge reform.

[Siegel] But that would also mean private ownership of the means of production, would it not?

[Bogomolov] Yes, even though we do not describe it as such. We have found different terms, such as family enterprises in the country, individual ownership of means of work or perhaps of land. But it is not so

important what we call it—ownership or leasehold for 100 years, involving transition to property.

[Siegel] You and several other well-known scientists are said to be among Gorbachev's advisers. Is that correct, and if so, what influence do you have on the drafting of a concept of perestroyka in the economy and in agriculture? Are you listened to, and were you previously listened to less than you are today?

[Bogomolov] I am of course not in the inner circle of Gorbachev's advisers, because they work together with him, whereas I work in a different place, in this institute. Our advice, as well as that of other scientists is sometimes requested, but that is a different thing. If people in the West call us advisers, they do not mean it literally. Gorbachev has four or five close advisers. They are known. They are men such as Shakhnazarov or Chernyayev. They help him with his immense work; they read documents, deliver resumes, and so forth. However, it is typical of Gorbachev to listen to the opinions of different experts and scientists.

Our institute is in demand, because it analyzes difficult problems and works out assessments and proposals. Our ideas are taken into account by this country's leadership, because our institute has the obligation to supply the leadership with information and analyses. That is one of our tasks.

We give advice, we are a country of advisers, but the political leadership itself chooses the course. Nonetheless, science undoubtedly has more influence on politics today, as the facts have shown. Not only do Gorbachev and Ryzhkov often meet with a small circle of specialists, scientists often take part in government meetings. Many scientists are deputies of the Supreme Soviet or the People's Congress now, and we also work on parliamentary committees. The chances to publish have increased considerably, even when nonconformist, courageous positions are discussed. In the past, such articles were not published in the press; now I can even publicly criticize the government and the leadership.

There are quite a few Soviet scientists who worked out the ideas of perestroyka long before it began—not officially but internally. However, when we represented positions—for official use—which were opposed to the official positions, we were not punished in most cases. There was trouble and there were difficulties, but we were allowed to work. For instance, in February 1980, our institute submitted to the leadership and the Central Committee an analysis that the invasion of Soviet troops in Afghanistan was a mistake. We warned about the incipient crisis in Poland in 1980, but we were not listened to at that time. In January 1980, it was clear that Poland was facing a very serious crisis which led to the change of power and to structural changes.

[Siegel] How does the decisionmaking process in Soviet politics develop? In 1956 or 1968, a very small group of persons made the decisions. Is that different today?

[Bogomolov] That has basically changed, because now a number of crucial decisions such as troop invasions cannot be made without the approval of the Supreme Soviet. The government is now accountable to the parliament; the Supreme Soviet and the congress have the right to demand explanations of the government on all matters. So the degree of social control regarding important decisions is considerable now. All important laws are adopted after their drafts have been published and discussed on a broad basis.

[Siegel] How realistic is what you have also repeatedly mentioned before, namely that the USSR will establish zones of free economy, free trade zones, for example in Odessa, Vladivostok, and in the area of Kaliningrad (which was formerly called Koenigsberg), in which we are particularly interested? When will all this materialize?

[Bogomolov] The idea has already been accepted, which was confirmed a few days ago by Premier Ryzhkov at a government session, in which I participated. However, the corresponding laws have not been completed yet, and we have not yet worked out all the details. Still, I am convinced that we will establish such zones, even though the discussion about it is not yet over. I think that it will happen next year.

The first such zone will probably be established at the border with Finland; however, it cannot be excluded that it might be in Kaliningrad; after all, that area is useful for the investment of capital from the FRG. There is already great interest in the FRG. Unfortunately, I cannot tell you any details now. On the eve of the Gorbachev visit to Finland I commented on this subject in an interview for PRAVDA, which proves that this questions has already become an element of our policy.

[Siegel] Many years ago you were among the first people who, even vis-a-vis Western correspondents, took a positive approach to joint ventures in the USSR, at a time when in your home country everybody else still said that there would never be such joint ventures in the USSR. Now they have existed for some time, and there is already a great number of such ventures. Do they work? People in the FRG often claim that these are not real joint ventures, because the Soviet economy has not yet reached the appropriate level of development.

[Bogomolov] This is only a first step. One cannot say that the necessary framework conditions for such joint ventures already exist. Quite the contrary, they are artificial plants in an unfriendly environment. To ensure that these plants can exist we need greenhouses for each individual plant, that is to say, we need special conditions. After all, our internal economic mechanism is irreconcilable with the way these joint ventures work. We do not have trade, we do not have a market, and thus one cannot buy additional material or raw material there, and one cannot exchange the profits in freely convertible currency, because we lack the necessary rate of exchange.

Therefore, there are only very few joint ventures that work well. Their share is particularly low in the production sector because there one must find a combination to attract the Western partner's interest in the production and to get back parts of the cost through profits. Because all this is so difficult the idea was born to set up free trade zones; there one can benefit from hard currencies, world market prices, and one has full freedom of action. However, these zones will be separated from Soviet territory, and Western companies and capital can invest there without any restrictions, but there will be barriers between these zones and the USSR.

There is also the idea to create a kind of parallel hard currency, and a special market within the Soviet economy with convertible foreign currency, which is covered by adequate goods and which can be used for purchases on the world market. This sector is to be very narrow at the beginning; enterprises will supply 90 percent of their production to the state and can freely sell 10 percent.

However, today nobody wants to give away excess production for Soviet rubles, because one cannot spend these rubles. Today the situation is as follows: If a tractor enterprise in Vladimir sells off tractors it does not need, it wants meat and oil or shoes in return. Yet this is not trade but an exchange of goods. If this sector were to dispose of hard currency it would be able to pay in convertible rubles, which the seller could use to buy what he needs: meat, oil, imported technology. This idea of a parallel market for convertible rubles is currently discussed here. If it is approved, the joint ventures will be able to work differently, because then we would have something similar to market relations.

[Siegel] During the past few years Western firms have become increasingly interested in cooperation with the USSR. What impact do the developments in East Europe have on this interest?

[Bogomolov] I think that this interest is not decreasing, although Western capital is very cautious; after all there are many uncertain factors in the development in Eastern Europe, particularly instability—which impedes developments. Yet at the same time political and economic circles in the West show their readiness to support the processes in Poland, in the GDR, and in Hungary, they do not shun risks, and act with courage. The West grants great financial aid to Hungary, Poland, and even the GDR. All this is very positive, and it is also in the interest of the USSR. We want our economy to reach the level of the world economy, and we want to become a part of this economy, a member in international organizations, and we want to overcome the barriers that are now separating us. In return, the Soviet market will open up for the West.

[Siegel] The biggest problem has so far been the quality of the Soviet products?

[Bogomolov] Well, quality differs, and we also have excellent products which we do not export, because they are rare, such as for example textiles, underwear, aviation technology. Many of our aircraft do not have to fear competition, particularly since we are now going to convert production plants for military aircraft to civil products. We also have many technological novelties, inventions, which might be of greatest interest to Western business. Only the West does not know enough about it. We are not able to produce many such goods in a series, but we show them at fairs, and they meet with approval. We have a reached a high standard in the field of engineering, and the question is how to put it to commercial use.

[Siegel] Do you consider it possible that the United States will grant the USSR most favored nation status?

[Bogomolov] This is a question of the not too distant future; for the U.S. Administration is now ready to drop the Jackson-Venik Amendment, which links the most favored nation clause to the USSR's emigration policy. We will soon adopt a new law on immigration and emigration, which is in accordance with international standards and which will remove all political obstacles. Then the U.S. Administration can treat the USSR in the same way as Hungary or Poland, for example.

[Siegel] Does this, by analogy, also apply to the list of the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls [COCOM]?

[Bogomolov] Even in this respect one can notice trends toward more liberalization. Since we are showing each other our military secrets, since our generals have inspected most secret objects in the United States, and American generals have done so in our country, the COCOM list is already now a relic of the past.

Public Opinion Poll on Trade Union Rights

LD2911100789 Moscow TASS in English 0908 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS— By TASS correspondent Vadim Kokarev:

It is high time the Soviet trade unions were granted the right to organise strikes, said most of the respondents in a sociological public opinion poll, held by the All-Union Public Opinion Studies Centre.

The public opinion poll, held after the publication of the new bill on the rights of the trade unions, involved over 1,500 Soviet urban and rural residents over the age of 16.

In the opinion of 63 per cent of the respondents, strikes, as an extreme measure to solve conflicts between the administration and work collectives, are justified and are necessary to improve conditions of work and protect labour. Twelve per cent of the respondents believe it is premature to give trade unions such a right.

To ensure the trade unions' most efficient use of the rights envisaged by the bill, there should be concrete

guarantees of their observance on the part of the state, believe 62 per cent of those polled.

In the opinion of 61 per cent of the respondents, trade unions should proceed from the working people's demands and invariably coordinate their actions with work collectives.

Fifty nine per cent of the respondents are confident that trade union bodies at all levels should be manned predominantly by those who defend the interests of the working people. This is an obligatory condition for activities of the All-Union Central Council of the Trade Unions, the broadest Soviet organisation.

Most of the respondents favour the right of "veto", recorded in the bill, allowing trade unions to suspend the action of managerial decisions detrimental to the socio-economic interests of work collectives. Only 3-5 per cent of respondents are against this right.

Gorbachev's Responses at Student Forum Published

PM2211170089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Nov 89 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Unattributed account of Gorbachev question-and-answer session at 15 November student forum: "Confidently Striding Along the Path of Perestroyka. M.S. Gorbachev's Replies to Questions from Delegates to the All-Union Student Forum"; first paragraph is an editorial introduction]

[Text] As we have reported, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, addressed youth representatives 15 November within the framework of the All-Union Student Forum. He answered their questions.

[Students] What is the place of perestroyka in the overall process of world civilization? Is perestroyka in this aspect objective or subjective? You are the initiator of perestroyka. What drew you personally most of all to realizing the need for it: the high level of development in the West or the crisis in our society?

[Gorbachev] I think that our perestroyka—and I have said this before—on the whole constitutes a solid contribution to the progress of our civilization. And if, in implementing the socialist ideal, we try to achieve a new complexion of our society characterized above all by humanism, democracy, freedom, and the free development of the individual, this will promote the progress of world civilization as a whole. In reforming our society, giving our socialist system its second wind, as it were, and revealing its potential, we have at the same time offered to all the peoples the foundations for political thinking, the idea of building a new world order, and have proposed reaching a period of peaceful human development via a radical change in international relations. We have proceeded on the basis that the past stage—the "cold war"—has fully demonstrated the bankruptcy of a policy relying on force, the arms race, and confrontation. Mankind has found itself in a situation where it is faced with the problem of the survival of civilization and other global challenges—including ecological, information, scientific, and technical challenges. All this has aroused a great response in the world. And whereas during the first stage the new political thinking was seen as utopianism and a kind of messianic vision—even though we based the entire policy from the outset on analysis of the past development of international relations and an assessment of the situation in which our civilization found itself—now it is seen as a promising policy. Yesterday, talking with French Foreign Minister Dumas, we were able to state that 3-4 years ago we were at a crossroads as regards the direction the world would take. Would it take the path of further confrontation and opposition, or would we turn toward greater cooperation and a normalization of relations based on the recognition of each people's right to choose their own political system and ideological values? Today we can say that the world has started changing. The process may only have begun, there may still be mistrust and suspicion, and there may still be many weapons in the world, but the world has started moving in this direction, as it were. This means that from the standpoint of foreign policy an enormous contribution to the development of civilization has been made on the basis of the new thinking.

What drew me personally to this realization of the need for perestroyka? I think that boiling everything down to a single person's positions would add little to our knowledge and understanding of perestroyka in the past, the present, and the future. Logic itself and the situation in our society itself led to the need for profound transformations. Initially we thought that it was enough to improve and upgrade a few things. Today we have firmly reached the conclusion that we need to thoroughly reform everything and bring about profound changes in the base [v bazise], in production relations, in the political process, in the sphere of spiritual life, and in the sphere of our society's culture. That is why I would say that both the whole of society and I myself as part of this society were ripe for profound change. That is the logic of development.

[Students] In your speeches you constantly stress that perestroyka was begun by the party, but the people clearly realize that it was an initiative on the part of individual Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries. So is it, perhaps, worth saying so?

[Gorbachev] I must say that nobody can claim the credit for launching these processes and for everything that started within the framework of the perestroyka policy and is currently under way. This is the result of efforts by the Central Committee, the party, and the government. All our country's social forces made an enormous contribution. In order to arrive at cardinal tenets regarding perestroyka both the Central Committee and the government constantly consult with all sections of our society. This has simply become a good tradition. It should not be reduced to personalities. This must safeguard us in the future from mistakes in our approaches to the reform

of society. When perestroyka is not presented as ready-made prescriptions or answers from on high to the problems that arise, but is worked out by society itself, then such a policy is viable and promising.

[Students] How do you assess the unevenness of the progress of perestroyka processes in different spheres and parts of the country? What, in your opinion, was the role of local party and soviet organs in this?

[Gorbachev] Yes, you are right, the processes have been proceeding unevenly. As for democracy, glasnost, and the political process, things are being implemented faster in these areas. As for the economy, we must make new efforts—I have established this. Equally, it must be said that certain regions, certain republics, even certain enterprise collectives, and—from the standpoint of awareness and thinking—certain workers are at different levels of readiness from the standpoint of development levels. There are great differences, and this is affecting the progress of perestroyka. We are also encountering people who, in general, do not accept perestroyka.

[Students] May I take this opportunity to ask a question on behalf of Soviet students studying in the fraternal GDR—there are more than 600 of us. We are all acquainted with the recent political events and transformations taking place in the GDR. In your telegram to U.S. President Bush, according to FRG mass media reports, you noted that the USSR will support the transformations in the GDR. What shape will that support take? What is the USSR's position on the question of the possible unification of the two German states?

[Gorbachev] I think that what is happening in the GDR is part of the renewal process under way in all the socialist countries. But if we look at the broader context, we can see that the entire world is changing and adapting to the present time and to the present stage of the scientific and technical revolution. And the thrust of the change—if it prevails—is nonetheless a positive thrust toward a better world and cooperation among the peoples. Whether this happens sooner or later is ultimately a matter for each people, and each society must mature. We cannot and will not impose our perestroyka or our methods and approaches to the reform of society. That is unacceptable. Yes, we remain true, like our friends in the socialist countries, to our socialist ideals. Yes, we want to reveal the potential of the socialist system. But this is a task for each country, each people, and each party to resolve on the basis of their country's specific conditions, bearing in mind their level of development, the socio-economic position, traditions, the prevailing way of life, and so forth. And this determines both the form of change and the pace of the transformations. This is very important, Comrades. For in the past this was not taken into account—or was not always taken into account, which resulted in great losses.

We welcome what is happening in the GDR. Incidentally, at the beginning, for the first few days, it looked very dramatic. Today it is acquiring forms whereby an extensive dialogue and discussion is under way. The new leadership has won support and has been given a chance to justify the people's trust. The leadership has now recognized the need to solve new issues relating to the elaboration of the new course of renewal. We will support them. They are our friends. We have tremendous economic ties with them. At the moment—and I would emphasize at the moment—these ties are equal in nature, although the fact that they receive raw material resources from us within the framework of trade turnover probably makes their work more reliable. But nowadays nobody gives anyone anything for free or without expecting anything in return. It is a question of trade and exchange. And it now covers many sectors. The GDR is our major trading partner. And we will cooperate in order to ensure that at the stage of change taking place in the Soviet Union and in the GDR this cooperation becomes more effective. This will promote the resolution of tasks in both the Soviet Union and the GDR.

What is the USSR's position on the possible unification of the two German states?

I think that our position is well known. There are two German states. History saw to that. And this fact is generally accepted by the world community. Both states are members of the United Nations and are also members of international political organizations—NATO and the Warsaw Pact, CEMA and the European market. That is the reality, and we must work on the basis of that reality. As to what history will decree in the future—we will wait and see. I do not think that the question of the reunification of these states is currently a pressing political question [vopros aktualnoy politiki]. I think that everyone in the EC and the world community is interested in stability and in ensuring that Europe and the world develop within the framework of this stability and the normal development of the Helsinki process and achieve new forms of communal life. Life will provide the answer. We will not try to divine the future. These are realities today with which everyone responsible for the implementation of policy has to deal.

[Students] What is your attitude to the statements by Yeltsin and others—not least Western specialists—that we can expect a nationwide catastrophe a year or 18 months down the line?

[Gorbachev] I think I have answered this question from broad positions. I am substantiating this—the acceleration of the implementation of reform, above all, the economic reform—for the first time before the student forum. We have always needed it to proceed faster, but there was no opportunity to bring this about. Today we are adopting major laws on ownership, on the land, on taxation policy, on the socialist enterprise, and so forth. I will not list them all. Our immense groundwork now allows us to pose the acceleration of reform as a practical task. Raising the question in such a way would not have been serious even a few months ago. It would have

represented the voluntarism and pressure methods used to implement collectivization and industrialization. But even in those cases it still took years to carry these plans out, despite the pressure. Nonetheless, serious mistakes were made. We should learn lessons from this. We should not act like a bull in a China shop, turning in one direction and destroying half the store. We are a country which has played an enormous role in determining the fate of world civilization. We should act in a manner consonant with this mission of ours.

[Students] It was thought that the proletariat was at the forefront of all revolutionary initiatives. What place, in your opinion, is currently played by the intelligentsia—specifically, by students?

[Gorbachev] I think, Comrades, we will be acting correctly if we pay due tribute to the leading role of the working class in our society. It is the most organized class, the largest, powerful, educated, and devoted to the ideas of socialism and perestroyka. At the same time, we will also raise the point that today there is a huge demand for talented individuals within the context of the formulation and implementation of policy in the course of perestroyka. And I think that perestroyka itself raises the role of our entire scientific, scientific and technical, and artistic intelligentsia and that the working class and the peasantry realize that. Our main task is to meld all creative forces and to pool and consolidate all progressive forces and perestroyka forces in our society. And, of course, the student body is already at the stage where it is assimilating certain professions and knowledge, it is shaping its intellectual potential, it can and should make its contribution, and it should participate in all these processes and in all of society's life from the standpoint of the development of the processes of political reform. Students, like all young people, should be involved in everything, and that is why nobody can say that it is not your affair. It is your affair, because it is the society you live in today, and you have an interest in seeing this society embark on the high road of free and successful development.

[Students] First I would like to assure you that the overwhelming majority of young people fully support you and your political course. I wholeheartedly wish you success.

I want to draw the government's attention to the need to resolve the most acute problem facing students. Namely, hostels, first and foremost family hostels. And the second is that at the present critical period of perestroyka bureaucratic obstacles, norms, and all the other regulations still stand between young students and the party.

Do you recognize the principle of the free self-determination of nations in the form in which it has been enshrined in international acts? If so, why do you oppose this principle on the question of Nagorno-Karabakh and a number of other questions?

[Gorbachev] What can I tell you, friends? I think that we are all worried by the conflict which has arisen over Nagorno-Karabakh. To say that it is a new problem would be wrong. This ancient and chronic conflict has been smoldering and at some periods flares up. Now, within the framework of perestroyka, democratization, and glasnost, people have raised the problems which worry them. Were the inhabitants of Nagorno-Karabakh right to say that certain processes in the development of their autonomous oblast trouble them? Yes, comrades. And that applies to the satisfaction of economic, social, and cultural needs. That is recognized by everyone, including the leadership of Azerbaijan and the Azerbaijani people. Aware that there are real problems here, we decided from the very outset to approach the solution of the conflict that had occurred in a way based on the fact that these two peoples have been living side by side for centuries and will go on doing so. When I studied the history of this region I was amazed to discover that many outstanding representatives of both the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples were born in these lands. The two peoples have their roots and their cultures there. Generally speaking, these peoples have been living there for centuries and these problems and acute situations arose at various times. I think that the answer should be sought along this path. There can be no winners here. The legitimate rights of the inhabitants of Nagorno-Karabakh must be respected, the region must have real autonomy. All the opportunities for the free development of this people must be guaranteed. But clearly this must be resolved while also respecting both Azerbaijan and Armenia. I tell you plainly: What we decide must be based on the recognition that this is our common problem and concern. I see no possibility of resolving matters by the "method" of chopping off and throwing aside. This, in my view, is unacceptable for perestroyka in principle because we have taken a different path in offering the people the opportunity to discuss all their problems, consolidating, elaborating a common approach, and thereby uniting. That applies especially here in this delicate sphere. We absolutely must solve this problem together. Probably it will not be solved straightaway. Many grievances have built up, this has caused many problems, but it has also taught us, comrades, how attentive we should be to each other, it has shown us how important are the principles which we proclaimed in the party platform.

People of any nationality living in any part of our country must feel at ease and must have confidence in the present and the future. There is no alternative. Some 60 million people of various nationalities live outside the territories where their own nations live. So can we really allow people of one nationality to offend others? That will destroy our perestroyka and, most important of all, will not strengthen or improve our union or our world. On the contrary, it will weaken them. This must be said bluntly. We have said that within the framework of the federation we want to reveal its potential and achieve a really genuine harmonization of the interethnic relations within the country without recarving it but by filling it with new—democratic and humane—content, developing the traditions and culture of all the peoples, and

showing respect for even the smallest peoples. I believe that in principle you share this approach. Sometimes people criticize the government, saying that it should be more resolute. If that means more resolute so as to preserve and increase the potential for friendship and improve the relations between our peoples, then we should indeed be resolute. But not if it means accommodating all kinds of demagogues and separatists sowing interethnic discord. That is where resoluteness is needed, but not in order to resolve ethnic problems by force or administrative methods. That route will not take us far, that way lies deadlock, that way we will make these processes even more painful. The present leadership is coming in for a lot of comment, both favorable and critical, but what of it, that's what a leadership is for. A leadership worthy of the name must take everything and still formulate a policy which meets the common interests of our peoples and the future renewal of our country. Do you agree with this approach? (Applause.)

[Students] Is the attribution of Stalinism merely to the revolutionary impatience of the masses not an oversimplification?

[Gorbachev] I do not think that it is a question of the revolutionary impatience of the masses. I tried to show that it was not the Leninist concept of socialist transformations which triumphed, but this line which prevailed in a fierce political struggle, and furthermore the methods used in the debate were far from democratic. But the difficulties of the time also played a part, particularly the fact that people really wanted to rebuild a world which had been razed to the ground. They took the socialist idea to their hearts. And the communist Bolsheviks themselves who spearheaded the process of revolutionary transformations were also looking to the rapid attainment of socialist transformations. That happened. That, of course, is a profound and complex process. And I think that the explanation of the reasons why that happened should be studied in greater depth. I welcome the fact this is being studied now.

[Students] There is an opinion current now that an All-Union Student Association could undertake to resolve many student problems. What do you think about the organization of such an association?

[Gorbachev] You must discuss this yourselves and reach your own decision, but it seems to me that students should not become absorbed in their own problems to the exclusion of all else. Student problems are part of our society's problems. And if students shy away from perestroyka and from society's present and future concerns that will do them no good. They will find that their most precious time has been wasted. The student movement and the solution of young students' problems must be examined in the context of perestroyka. I think that the success of perestroyka will also signal success in the solution of students' problems.

But as for what the student organization should be—decide that for yourselves. Otherwise you will say: They have imposed it on us from the top again. So get used to taking responsibility for your own choice.

[Students] What is the point of the CPSU Central Committee plenum's recommendation on the state status of the Russian language throughout the territory of the USSR, a recommendation which is a departure from Lenin's nationalities policy?

[Gorbachev] You haven't asked the question accurately because the platform confers on Russian the status of the statewide language. That is the first point I want to clarify. The second is that if you had paid attention you would have seen that such a note did not appear in the draft platform, it appeared later on in the final version after the question had been discussed at the plenum. Why? At the moment that the platform was adopted the vast majority of society felt that the political guidelines should reflect reality, namely the fact that the Russian language already performs the function of the statewide language. And we examined this in dialectical unity [with the situation] whereby the languages of the peoples and nations who gave their names to the republics are proclaimed the state language in each republic. And at the same time we remain in one federation, we are all interconnected. People have to live, to get along with each other, and to resolve questions. How can statewide tasks be resolved without a language of international communication? So it was from the midst of society, from the debate, that the term Russian as the statewide language emerged.

We saw that other approaches were bound up with the fact that the necessary harmony doesn't exist between the status of the languages of the nations which are proclaimed state languages and the real role played by the Russian language. When distortions appeared in the solution of these questions, it set the whole country in motion. In the Baltic, for example, the outcome was essentially a confrontation on the basis of the language problem. Because this was connected with a disrespectful attitude, unequal status, and so forth. But our principle is that no matter where people live, they should feel good and confident. Take Moldavia, that wonderful region where Moldavians, Ukrainians, and Russians lived harmoniously for decades—no, not decades, centuries. Look at the passions that have erupted there now! Once again because of language, Comrades. There are 1.5 million non-Moldavians living there, I think, Russian speakers and other nationalities. We, Comrades, are trying to resolve such fateful questions. And we must understand one another.

People live and work together. We must take all the best that has been created, not destroy things. But we must also do more to fill the federation with meaningful life and with everything relating to economic and political sovereignty, the free development of the languages of nations, culture, and so forth. That is our path. That is the path we must take.

[Students] What is your attitude toward Article 6 of the USSR Constitution? And to private ownership of the means of production, including private educational institutions?

[Gorbachev] I shall take the last question first, my attitude toward private ownership. My position is that of the "Communist Manifesto." That does not stop me from being one of those who submitted proposals on the reform and radical transformation of production relations and ownership relations. So as to reveal the potential of social ownership and ensure a large number of diverse forms of economic management which, through the lease, the cooperative system, peasant farms, and so forth, place man in the position of master possessing the means of production, disposing of them and effectively using them. That does not stop me from firmly adhering to communist positions with regard to private property and seeking to emancipate our economic system by reforming ownership relations.

I headed the commission to prepare the Law on Ownership during the final stage. This is a progressive and far-reaching law. In the preparation of that law we reached a new understanding of individual ownership and gave it a broad interpretation. Great opportunities are opening up as a result. But I do not think that at the stage of preparing the Law on Ownership we should promote and consolidate the movement toward private ownership almost as a program guideline. I do not accept that. I am convinced of this. I think that the working class will not support those who call for the capitalization of our society.

What is my attitude to Article 6 of the USSR Constitution? I respect it, as I do the entire constitution. It is our constitution. In changing our society and embarking on the path of profound change, we are arriving at a new understanding of political institutions and new interpretations of ownership relations. This requires changes to the constitution, and we will make these changes. I think that when we are moving more solidly down the road of perestroyka and when our society starts to really assimilate new forms of life in all spheres, it will be clear to us what kind of new constitution we need on the whole. This is why the Constitutional Commission was set up. I am its chairman. For the moment we are resolving questions posed by life and perestroyka. But we will undoubtedly have to work on the constitution as well. Probably any article of the constitution, if the need arises, could be assessed, transformed, and edited—even deleted. In this instance this applies to Article 6, too. We need a normal constitutional process, everything should proceed as laid down. I reject one point in this formulation: When attempts are essentially made behind the cover of talk about Article 6 to belittle party prestige, sow doubts about it, and thereby—let me be blunt—to strike a blow against perestroyka. Today, when processes in society are becoming more dynamic, when society has become politicized, when processes of decentralization are under way based on the reform of economic and political life—and this means that they are accompanied by centrifugal forces—and when the processes of giving the republics fuller rights and sovereignty and expanding the rights of autonomous formations and regions are developing, all this, in general, needs to be balanced at the same time. In order to ensure that the work of this organism, while aimed at achieving progressive change, does not lurch from pillar to post.

We need the party. I cannot currently see any other political force which could consolidate society together with the renewed organs of soviet power which are gaining strength. We need the party as the political vanguard working out a progressive policy and submitting it to society. There are political parties worldwide. And I am sure that a party which has found the courage to state its responsibility for everything that happened and for everything that failed to happen and a party which has been able to subject itself to self-criticism and open itself up to criticism from all of society is a party that deserves respect. This is a real, mature party. We should not pose the question as if Article 6 is a "burning" issue and as if we have to drop everything in order to resolve it as quickly as possible, otherwise everything will suffer. That's wrong. This is an attempt to lead us astray. That's my answer.

[Students] Do you think that it is acceptable to refer to theoreticians who disagree with Lenin's interpretation of Marx' ideas on socialism in an era of pluralism as renegades, with the well-known consequences this label entails?

[Gorbachev] I think, comrades—since I feel that I've done something to develop the processes of democracy and glasnost which are allowing all society to openly discuss all these questions—that my position contains the answer to this question. Only ideological debates, an ideological struggle, and, ultimately, the quest for the truth should bring us to a correct understanding of our problems and help us to avoid mistakes. That is why I advocate pluralism and discussion—but, of course, not just pluralism for pluralism's sake. I advocate enriching our socialist ideas during these debates—enriching our ideas with the methods and forms of implementing them in the light of the present day. That, I think, is where the watershed lies. I favor democracy and glasnost. But the interests of the people and socialism are the criterion for glasnost and democracy. During the course of perestroyka certain people have tried to suggest: Let's leave the interests of the people in our slogans, but there's no need for socialism. Perhaps this suits some people, but I insist that the interests of the people and socialism are nonetheless the criterion for glasnost, the criterion for democracy.

[Students] When will the state, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the CPSU Central Committee defend the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] internal troops and make an official assessment of the MVD troops' actions in the Transcaucasus, including Tbilisi, Uzbekistan, and Moldavia?

[Gorbachev] That's a question that is worrying our society. We must show that we can change our society and reform it in the spirit of our values—without resorting to force, civil war, or bloodshed—on the basis of democracy, the reform of the political process, and calm discussion. A discussion of all the main questions of our society. You see conflicts flaring up in one place and another and resulting in loss of life. If we rule out all similar methods and leave only political and democratic methods—that in itself will be an immense victory. I am categorically opposed to our resolving our urgent problems by strong-arm methods. I reject the recommendations and advice that we need a dictatorship and that a dictatorship in one form or another will save us. No, we will be saved by the process we have initiated: When the people themselves see everything, participate in everything, and ultimately influence final decisions. This means that we must resolve all issues democratically.

On that basis, my answer with regard to the role of the MVD troops will be brief. Probably, as life demonstrates, we are not proof against certain situations arising whereby we need to protect and safeguard both our perestroyka process and people's lives. In such cases we turn for help to the MVD troops. And I believe that what they have done thus far has been done responsibly. After all, they are All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League members and our young guys. Like us all, they are interested in perestroyka. And I think that their mission should be viewed as a mission of salvation. At the moment it seems that, in carrying out this very difficult mission, they are tending to come under attack. All of society has an interest in supporting them. They are acting responsibly, and I am sure they will continue to do so—within the law, safeguarding people's security. The Supreme Soviet, examining this problem, has instructed the government to take all necessary measures to improve internal affairs workers' material position, their material and technical supply, and their legal protection. Some of these matters have been resolved. Some are being resolved by the Supreme Soviet. As for the events in Tbilisi, a commission is working on this matter. It will report to the Supreme Soviet.

[Students] Is the development of democracy in the country and the formation of a multiparty system realistic?

[Gorbachev] When people talk about a multiparty system, the premise is that all interests can only be revealed under conditions in which a multiparty system exists. I think, comrades, that there is a certain amount of confusion here. I could give you cases—and the historians or future historians here present could confirm this—to show that despite the fact that many countries have 5, 10, or 20 parties, they still have absolutely no hint of any harmonization of the people's interests. Moreover, dictatorships quietly flourish under these conditions. This means that this is not the answer. What is? The answer is to be found in the regime, in the nature and forms of the implementation of political power, in the processes of democratization, and in their level, openness, and scope. That is why we have embarked on the road of extensive democracy and glasnost and opened up opportunities for exchanges of opinions, for extensive discussion of problems, and for interests to be revealed, taken into account, and harmonized. The answer should be sought in this area. If we stride firmly down the path we have chosen, life itself will provide the answer and remove our concern about this question. We do not need to introduce artificial edifices into society.

[Students] Is communism realistic or is it just a utopian goal?

[Gorbachev] I think I've already talked about my attitude to communist ideals. Let's move toward these communist ideals via perestroyka, by renewing socialism and revealing this society's potential. And let's do our utmost to bring into play everything that is contained in socialism as the first phase of the communist society. I am sure that the communist ideal, based on Marxist-Leninist teaching and scientific socialism, is an ideal which we proclaim as the supreme value.

[Students] We often talk these days about creating a common European home. It is no secret that in many respects we still have to reach the general European level both in the human rights field and in the field of setting up and saturating the national market and making the ruble convertible. But the fact that we lag behind in the standard of the training of our specialists is no less of a problem. We need to massively train specialists abroad, increase allocations for science and education, and open our borders for as broad a comparison as possible between their living standards and ours.

[Gorbachev] There are many subjects in that question, but I would like to just answer the central question: How do I envision the training of cadre specialists capable of meeting the interests of perestroyka, cadres who could assimilate new working methods during the implementation of the radical economic reform, cadres who could also resolve the tasks of international cooperation. In general, we have come to the conclusion that we need a national program for shaping the cadre corps in line with the demands of perestroyka. Of course, we should above all do this in our own country. This does not rule out, but presupposes, the fact that we will borrow experience, exchange experience, and arrange training and assignments in other countries.

[Students] What comment would you make on the statements that what happened in 1917 was actually a violent Bolshevik coup, and what is happening now in the countries of East Europe—including the Soviet Union—is the collapse of the totalitarian socialist system and a real revolution?

[Gorbachev] Yes, I think that some people in the West are indulging in wishful thinking. Every time that there are certain problems in the development of socialism, or certain crisis phenomena—not least now, when profound changes are taking place and virtually all the

socialist countries are involved in the process of socialist renewal—people try to interpret this in ways that suit them and to present it as the collapse of the socialist ideal and the choice made in October.

Such claims are nothing new for us. No, we are reforming society in the light of the new realities and revealing the potential of our system and social structure. And we will proceed down the path of our choice, remaining devoted to socialism.

Student Forum Lists Political, Social Demands

PM2711154189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 89 p 1

["Political Declaration" adopted by 18-20 Moscow USSR All-Union Student Forum]

[Text] We are well aware that education problems and the difficulties of students' civic and social development are products of complex realities and the chronic diseases of society as a whole.

We support the essential process of perestroyka that is under way in the country.

We believe that political, economic, social, and legal problems can only be tackled by democratic methods and parliamentary means.

The all-union student forum considers it necessary, in the political sphere:

- to consistently implement the principle of division of legislative, executive, and judicial power, which creates real guarantees of the irreversibility of perestroyka; the existence of a two-tier system of supreme organs of state power is considered inadvisable;
- to take public opinion into account when tackling questions of statewide and local significance—providing a democratic mechanism for holding referendums;
- to improve the electoral system, holding elections at all levels only on the basis of really universal, equal, and direct suffrage, with a secret ballot;
- carry out a conceptual revision of the USSR Constitution in the light of social and political realities. To provide in the new edition of the Constitution for legal guarantees of the development of political pluralism. To eliminate articles declaring the special status of the party and public organizations;
- to establish and ensure conditions for the free development of all the country's peoples on the basis of the right of nations to self-determination, which is enshrined in international agreements.

In the socioeconomic sphere:

- to base the USSR economic system on a variety of forms of ownership. The All-Union Student Forum supports the creation of equal legal conditions for state, collective, private, and mixed ownership;
- to devise an effective mechanism for the social protection of citizens;
- to redistribute state budget funds in favor of the social sphere, science, culture, and education by reducing military expenditure and expenditure on the capital construction of production facilities and the upkeep of the administrative apparatus.

In the human rights sphere:

to bring existing USSR legislation into line with the norms enshrined in international pacts, conventions, and agreements in the human rights sphere ratified by the USSR and promulgate these accords extensively;

to abolish all restrictions on travel abroad for invalids, including invalid students.

Minority view (footnote) (a minority view is a proposal not accepted by the majority, but supported by at least one-third of the delegates):

- to review the principles of military recruitment and the principles of military service. We believe that everyone is entitled to choose between military and civilian (alternative) service. The creation of a professional volunteer army should be envisaged.

Komsomol Role in New Conditions Weighed

PM2711122189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Nov 89 p 2

[Article by V. Mironenko, first secretary of the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League Central Committee and delegate to the All-Union Student Forum, under the rubric "Viewpoint": "We Are Going the Same Way"]

[Text] Does it not seem to you that our fourth revolution has a too adult, if not to say too old, face? If you have also noticed this, let us ask ourselves: "Just what is going on?" Or is this not quite yet a revolution? Or can even a revolution not extricate the majority of young people from a state of mistrust of any initiatives from above, even revolutionary ones?

We have learned a very great deal about ourselves during these complex 4 years. There is a sense of grievance, a feeling of humiliation when we compare our daily life and production with—as it is customary to say—"the best world models."

We have shaken off—albeit far from fully—many dogmas which only yesterday were considered an obligatory element of the Marxist dogmatist's war paint. We have also taken other bold steps and come to a halt in some indecision. Before what have we come to a halt? Before the full rehabilitation of certain still quite irreplaceable instruments for regulating the economy. Before a clear understanding of the fact that our principles must be inferred from moral and political principles

common to all mankind: freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of association.

Before the need to recognize without reserve the right of nations to self-determination, having failed to remind them here that it is not good to allow discrimination along national lines. Before recognition of working people's right to own land and the means of production, to receive according to their labor, and to hire "clever" production organizers.

This is a far from full list.

It is no easy matter to realize these principles. The Supreme Soviet will probably become hoarse discussing how to do this in practice. But this must be done. And it must be done because you must not start a revolution, if it is indeed a revolution, slow it down, stop it, or accelerate it again of your own volition.

You would think that precisely young people and students must be with those who will take our revolution to the full renewal of society. But! And here there is a little "but."

A few days ago Academician V.N. Kudryavtsev wrote in PRAVDA: "Let us recall which guidelines prevailed in the system of education and upbringing.... Not the individual but the interests of the state above all else; only that which was directly instructed by state power was permitted; dissidence was a grave crime before the state and society." Generations were brought up on these principles, and this is seated in their consciousness, firmly seated!

The All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol] is extricating itself from those guidelines and principles with tremendous difficulty. Young informals have made a bit of a noise, organized several rallies and actions, criticized the Komsomol for "excessive attachment" to the CPSU, and dissolved in people's fronts.

Some have occupied seats in the offices of newborn funds and associations. A few have become formalized.

A section of young people, who have left the Komsomol and not joined it, has not defined its political position in any way. It is waiting to see how all this will end. What is to be done?

I think that we have defined the boundaries between us, albeit not completely. Is it not time to remember also what unites us all? It is already possible today to secure the consent of the stable, not "aggressively obedient" but "disobediently constructive" majority, on which the government can rely for decisive actions. And the time for acting has come.

Thus, in the opinion of the Komsomol Central Committee, today it is extremely necessary to consolidate all progressive, constructive young forces for a joint search for the chief features of the new type of society in which we would all like to live and work.

In my opinion, Deputy Travkin was quite right to declare in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI a few days ago that both left-wing deputies' radicalism and right-wing conservatism are equally fruitless. Only the resultant of public forces is promising.

To find this resultant, intensify it, and continue moving further along the path of reforms, and not rock the boat in which we are all seated on the spot, now to the right, now to the left, simulating movement.

About the Komsomol. The radical perestroyka of the communist youth movement from bottom to top is needed. I wish to emphasize this—from bottom to top. From top to bottom turns out bad, no good. It is necessary to continue work on laying the foundations of a strong youth policy; it is necessary to understand that diversity in the youth movement is a reality, whether or not some people like this.

Everything we are doing in the Komsomol we are doing in a very complex situation.

Wretched, debased ideas about socialism, including the Komsomol, prevail over people's consciousness.

The burden of old national and social grievances prevails over the consciousness of the new generations.

In addition, many young people stand in the Komsomol's ranks not on communist but on general democratic positions. We must take this into account. We are going the same way. In our arguments about a more just, more humane society we must not lose touch with what the working people have already achieved but preserve this asset.

Democracy is a position achieved by mankind. Although in many countries, including our own, it is necessary to return today to resolving general democratic tasks which were not resolved earlier.

The soul of the renewed league will be made up of those who will never agree to exploitation and injustice and who will never agree to the predetermined nature of a young person's path in life depending on which country or social milieu he was born in. Those who wish to change themselves and who believe in the possibility of changing the whole world.

But regarding those who have already made their choice in favor of moving not forward but backward and who prefer the "intellectual impotence" of eternally yesterday's people, it really would be better for such people to leave the league. But it will be necessary to live together in a rule-of-law socialist state, submitting to the people's choice.

A Komsomol Central Committee plenum decision set forth quite fully our position on student problems proper.

We continue to insist on the legal protection of educational institutions against gross, incompetent external interference. A USSR law on the educational institution is needed. I have already spoken of this at the teachers' congress.

We believe that experience of student representation on higher educational institution [VUZ] councils has not really justified itself. There are probably more efficient and effective ways for the student collective to cooperate with the scientific-pedagogic collective. It would be better to find them in life than in the offices of the Central Committee or the State Committee for Public Education.

We demand the resolution of the paramount social problems of students. We have put them to the government. They have been published in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. It is necessary to create a student social service.

We are still more certain than before that it is pointless to try to carry out a reform of education within the framework of a single country taken individually. I have repeatedly spoken of this, too. It is necessary to begin talks on the large-scale inclusion of the USSR in international education integration programs—European ones, above all. It is possible and necessary to create a corresponding fund.

If such a fund is created, students and student organizations themselves must control it.

The territories of universities, VUZs, and student campuses must be a kind of self-managed administrative zone. For us believers in science—I ask believers to forgive me, if there are any in the hall—a university is a temple. An air of freedom, truth, and quest for the truth must reign in it. The impulses for our spiritual, humanist rebirth must proceed from here.

The noosphere and the spiritual sphere require no less concern, if not more concern, than the ecosphere.

Believe me, I am not idealizing the student body. I simply do not know better educators than independence and the corresponding milieu.

Freedom of speech, assembly, association, and of the student press must be ensured in universities and institutes.

We also consider the search for new forms of integrating production and higher schooling and the opening up of new opportunities to use our professionalism to be a key problem. In our view, the chief reason for the student's lack of interest in the in-depth mastering of a specialty lies not even in the poverty of the teaching base, although this is terribly poor, nor even in the laziness of students, although there are lazy and negligent students. It lies in what every first-grader knows—he will be unable to use nine-tenths of this knowledge in our modern production, for it is simply not needed there.

Even the poorest country, if it devotes everything it has to education in excess of what is most essential, has the chance of becoming very rich. Even the richest country, if it economizes on this, will very soon end up very poor and very backward.

...We have recently heard too frequently claims that the Komsomol Central Committee does not have a program of renewal and that the Komsomol is at its last gasp. It seems that some people would very much like this. This is not so. Albeit not without losses and mistakes, but we are going our own way.

Our goals are specific and clear.

A strong state policy toward young people and an effective mechanism for realizing it. This is the first point.

The creation of conditions, including legal conditions, for very diverse forms of implementing youth initiative and the greatest possible support for the most promising of them. This is the second point.

The renewal of the communist youth movement in the country and the radical perestroyka of the Komsomol from bottom to top. This is the third point.

During the 2.5 years since the congress we have succeeded in advancing more in the first area, less in the second, and very little in the third.

The time has come to think about our communist league. We will not "surrender" the Komsomol. We will make it necessary to young people and society. There may not be that many of us believers, but we will struggle for the Komsomol.

The upcoming 21st Komsomol Congress will, I hope, define the buildup of the country's intellectual potential as the key program of the Komsomol's renewal.

Renewed socialism with a strong intellectual potential, developed productive forces, social protection, and the widest opportunities for self-realization is a worthy goal for which everything living and active in the country's youth movement should unite.

Economic

Panic Buying Creates Food Shortages

904D0024A Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 15 Nov 89 p 3

[Article by A. Kurbatov: "'Rice' Commotion or Why Ordinary Groceries Disappear From Moscow Stores"]

[Text] **There is a commotion among Moscow housewives. Not only do those goods that are in short supply keep disappearing from the stores, but the same has started happening to very common foods—rice, macaroni, vermicelli, noodles, flour, etc. What is happening? Is someone stockpiling food for the future? Meanwhile rumors are spreading all over the city: It is going to get worse in the**

winter. Oh, those sharp tongues of the capital! I called Vladivostok and Astrakhan today. They still have not run out of cereals, vermicelli, and other "primitive" stuff. Why then does making some rice porridge become a problem in Moscow?

At first I went to the USSR Ministry of Trade to find an answer to that question.

"There is no reason for concern," the head of Glavprodtorg [Main Administration of Food Trade], A. Kozlov, reassures me. "We have sufficient amounts of what is known as "cereal-flour" type groceries not only in Moscow, but in the entire country. The USSR Council of Ministers has allocated to us for the fourth quarter an additional amount of cereals and flour so that we could be sure of our reserves. We know about what is happening in Moscow. But we have to look somewhere deeper and lower for the reasons of the shortage."

Everything is in perfect order "deeper and lower", too. But Mosgortorg [Food Department of Moscow Trade Administration] knows a little more of the difficulties in selling cereals and flour that exist in the stores of the capital. The problem of "rice porridge" arose in Moscow in early fall. On regular days, before the rush, Moscow stores sold about 95-96 tons of rice. Now the customers, who were scared by the rumors, grab up to 140 tons a day and want more. But the trade officials reassured me that the panic has no reasonable grounds. L. Khodurskiy, director of the first storage facility, willingly confirms this: "We have a sufficient amount of groceries which unexpectedly became in short supply. We even ship flour to other parts of the country. We can also provide Muscovites with as much as they need. Tell the panic buyers not to stock up on cereals, noodles, macaroni, and vermicelli as all of that will definitely spoil. All of these products should be stored in specially equipped places."

So the problem is in the Muscovites themselves who gave in to the panic? There probably is a grain of truth in this. It is not for the first time that the capital is astir with rumors. In early summer many people were stockpiling salt and matches. In some apartments still there is enough of that stuff to last several years. There is also plenty of salt and matches now in Moscow warehouses. Just in Sverdlovskiy Rayon alone there has been 96 tons of salt since last summer. Then commerce got scared no less than the consumers and accumulated all this from neighboring parts of the country. We also remember the infamous times when Moscow was in the throes of a sugar shortage.

Still let us not lower our problem to the level of panicking. It would be easy to disperse rumors by the sight of stores where shelves sag under the burden of food. However, 1,200 Moscow stores constantly experience a lack of one or another product. And that only serves to instigate rumors. One gets the impression that the whole thing is to somebody's advantage. But at every stage I was told this was not the case.

Then maybe there are other reasons causing shortages of regular foodstuffs in Moscow? "Of course," I was readily answered in the Mosgortorg Food Department. "Visitors to Moscow and cooperative owners buy it all!" Is that so? To me the explanations offered by the trade officials seem unconvincing. We can put the blame on the cooperative owners only by stretching it quite a bit: They are not yet making money on porridge. The visitors do not have any reason to take rice out of Muscovites' mouths. They have enough of their own rice as was proven by a spot check in various cities of the country.

What could cause this unexpected shortage then? Maybe one has to look for an answer at the lowest link of the trade chain—in the store? For our inquiry we select foodstore No. 18 of Sverdlovskiy Rayon. It is located in a quiet street where very few non-Muscovites show up. On the other hand what is there for shoppers to do here? For lack of better things, the foodstore is selling children's toys and women's nightgowns at R14 50 kopecks each. There are some things, however, in the cereal department: Peas, millet, semolina, salt, and matches. Is there any rice?

"Are you from the moon? We haven't had any for a long time," is the reply of the salesperson bored by having nothing to do.

"That is right," adds the assistant manager, T. Chernikova. "People grab three, four, or more packages each. So all the rice gets sold in 1 or 2 days and then we have nothing to sell."

But the administration officials assured us that no store can function without that same rice for more than 3 or 4 days. After that the rayon trade association without fail will deliver the necessary groceries to the stores that ran out of them. Why do they not deliver now? It is a known fact that panic buying can be conquered only by more active supplies.

But this is just a theory and in practice everything is different. On 18 October rice was delivered to store No. 18. According to "theoreticians" it is sold out within 1 or 2 days which means that by the day of our check the store has been open without any rice to sell for almost 2 weeks.

The store employees blame everything on the warehouse, transportation workers, and even their sponsors. They definitely do not see the absence of ordinary products in the store as their own fault. But they should.

In the first place, everyone who insisted that some products can be unavailable in the store for 3-4 days should be corrected: There is a rule in trade according to which "products must overlap." By this rule one batch of rice has to be ready in storage when another batch of rice is coming to an end on the store counters. There can be no interruption—not for a day, not for an hour.

Secondly, sluggishness of the store personnel is not as inoffensive as it might seem to many people. Getting ahead of my story I can say that rice was delivered again

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others work? Not any better.

"What kind of supplies do we g
facility?" asks the director of
Asaulova, and she replies: "A
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and go to the storage facility.
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That is true. L. Khodurskiy
facility, has his problems.

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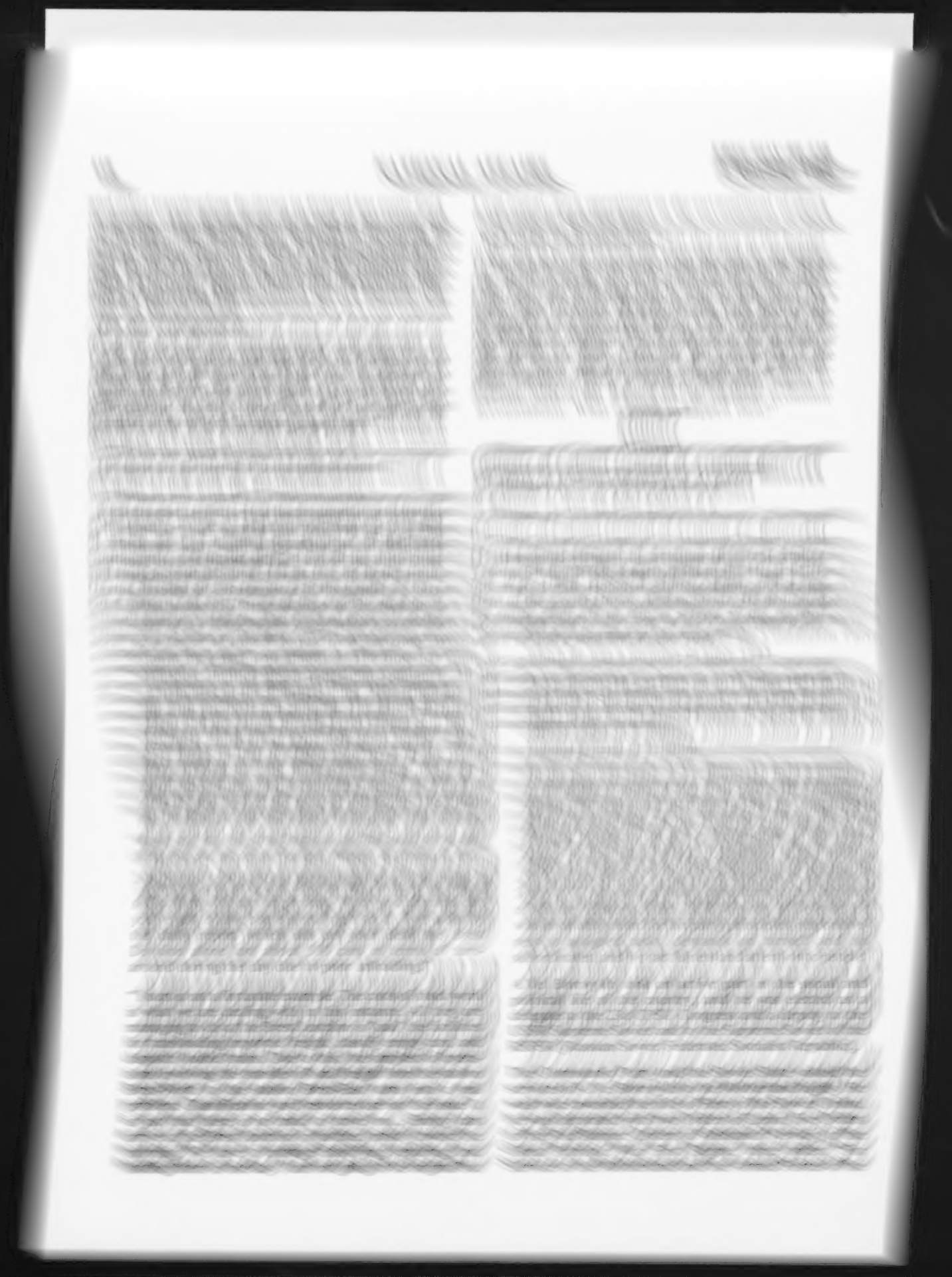

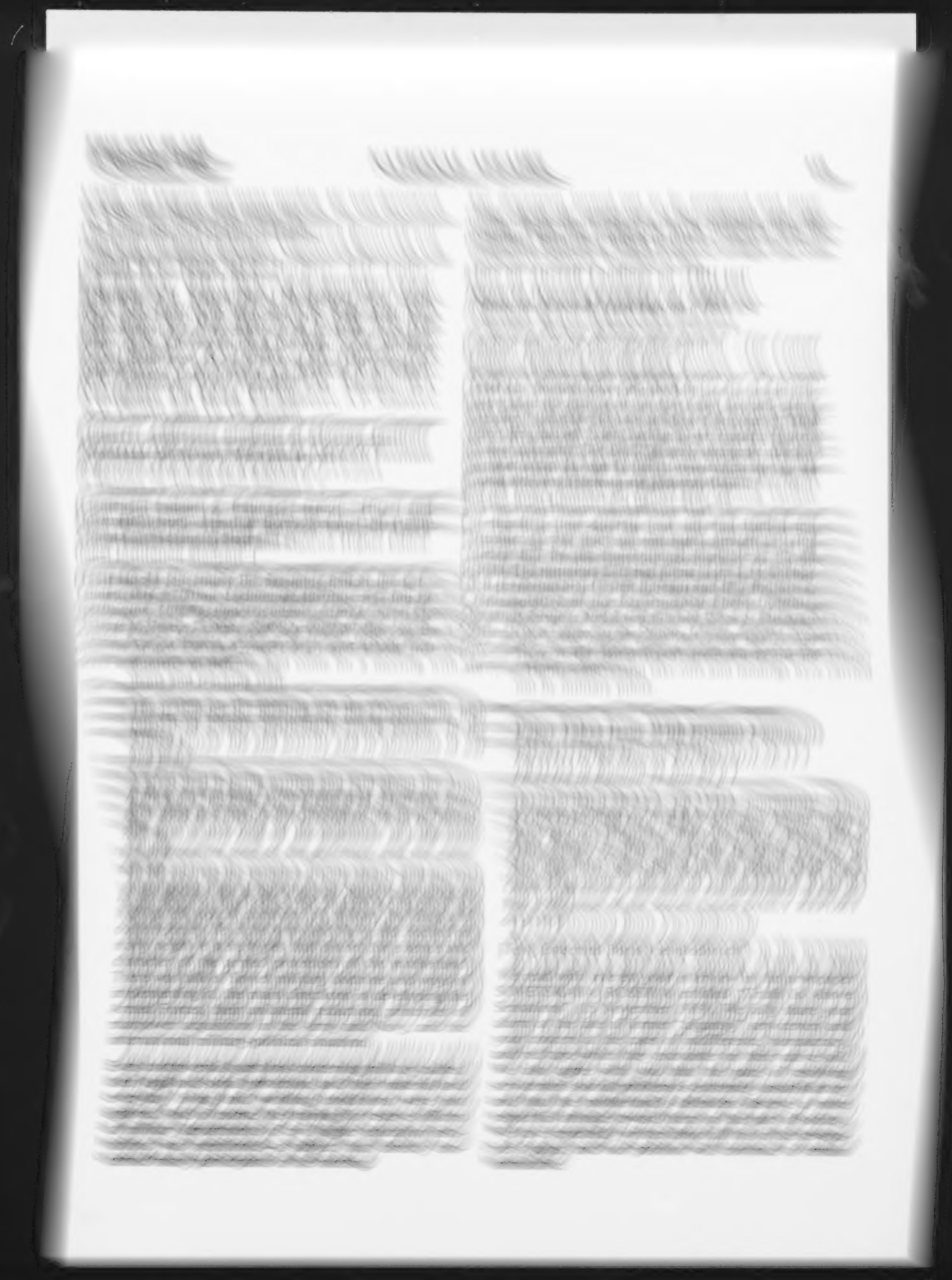

But it is not this that has made us address you. We are amazed at your accusations against a number of publications, including KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, that they endeavor to drive a wedge between the Army and society. "The sorest of sore points—the war in Afghanistan—has been selected for this purpose," you believe.

There is no denying that it is hard. But let us look back and see how we have merited such an assessment of our work—not just anyone's assessment but that of the former commander of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops in Afghanistan, a Hero of the Soviet Union, someone whom we respect.

...February 1984. A veil of silence over the Afghan war. Rather, articles appear from time to time—on how our soldiers over there, in the distant land, are giving concerts and helping the Afghan people to gather the harvest. "Black tulips" are returning home with their awful cargo, but on memorials to the dead they write the brief word "died." That is, there is no war, as it were. And since there is no war, there are no victims either. Lines about our losses are carefully crossed out of articles. Here is Inna Rudenko's feature "Duty"—about the fate of 23-year-old Aleksandr Nemtsov, who was disabled after being wounded in Afghanistan. We will not describe here the trouble we had "dragging" the material onto the newspaper page. Something else is more important today: The article breached the wall of silence. Thousands of letters and telegrams, hundreds of telephone calls, and, in the end, a CPSU Central Committee Politburo decision—all this was the response to the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA journalist's article.

Then came a multitude of articles—big and small, good and not very good. But we always endeavored to cover the events in Afghanistan honestly and to show the life of our soldiers and officers, advisers and specialists, the way it was. The newspaper's own correspondents—Vladimir Snegirev, Khulkar Yusupov, and Mikhail Kozhukhov—worked in the country for several years. Together with our soldiers they experienced raids on mountain roads, shelling, and the bitterness of losses. It can be said that many pages of reports were obtained at risk to life. Not that we need to describe their working conditions to you who spent 5 and ½ years there, do we?

The combat orders awarded to two of them represent, in our view, a worthy assessment of the journalists' work.

During the more than 9 years of war, more than 20 of the newspaper's special correspondents visited Afghanistan: Pavel Mikhalev, Nikolay Bodnaruk, Yuriy Sovtsov, Yuriy Geyko, Dmitriy Muratov, Yuriy Sorokin, Pavel Vedenyapin, and others. Many people still remember their reports, features, and dispatches. Readers called Yelena Losoto's article "War Assignment" one of the most truthful and unembroidered narratives about the Afghanistan of the eighties.

Despite warnings and prohibitions, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA journalists made their way to the hottest spots. There were losses. People in the editorial office remember photojournalist Aleksandr Sekretarev, who "grew up" on our newspaper. While fulfilling an editorial assignment for IZVESTIYA in May 1988, he died on the Kabul-Bagram-Salang road. And the first journalist to send material from the place where Sasha died was Aleksandr Kupriyanov, a KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA special correspondent.

We not only wrote about the heroism of our soldiers and the grim days of war, but also tried to help in at least some way those who were fulfilling an order which it was not within our power to countermand. On KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's initiative agitation detachments consisting, if not entirely of the most celebrated performers, of those who had agreed to go there were sent to units and garrisons of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops.

In 1988 KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's supplement—the weekly SOBESEDNIK, which you, incidentally, also accused of "driving a wedge between the Army and society"—carried a proposal by Nikolay Prokhorov, holder of the Order of Lenin and of two Orders of the Red Star, to create the country's first museum of internationalist servicemen. The idea was supported by Moscow's Lyublinskiy Rayon Committee of the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League and the rayon "afgantsy" servicemen's council. Far from everyone gave the idea a rapturous welcome. But today it is a fait accompli: The museum exists.

You are well aware of all this, Boris Vsevolodovich. Your statement is doubly surprising when you consider that as recently as May this year—after the troop withdrawal—you wrote in a letter to the newspaper: "As former commander of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops in Afghanistan, I express... appreciation for your serious approach to coverage of problems of the USSR Armed Forces and the 'Afghan topic' in particular. I always read your articles attentively. Your newspaper made a considerable contribution to the fact that Soviet people have begun looking at the Afghan war differently and receiving truthful information about various aspects of the life and combat activity of our servicemen in that country."

So what has happened in 6 months? Why has your attitude toward KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA undergone a polar change in such a short time?

You wrote that memorable letter after our newspaper's publication of Igor Chernyak's article "Two in One War," which aroused your displeasure. Let us remind you that it described how some patrons did young Senior Lieutenant Sergey Tesla a service while he was serving in Afghanistan. Even quite improbable facts were cited: "One of the leaders of the limited contingent" ordered the commander of the regiment to which the senior lieutenant had been sent to pick the best outpost and to "keep him in reserve," since this was a "request from above."

"We endeavored to do and did do everything to ensure that the maximum concern was shown for young officers," you now write. It would be interesting to know whether there were many lieutenants in Afghanistan who were accompanied to their units by regimental commanders on generals' orders.

It is a pity if people change their attitude toward the newspaper after one or two articles, even impartial ones. Especially if you, whose opinion we have always valued and value now, do so. Even today, in publishing this letter, we are still prepared to make the newspaper's pages available to you—a man of difficult destiny who honestly suffered all the burdens and privations of the Afghan war and who carried out the troop withdrawal with dignity; to you, whom tens of thousands of our soldiers and officers remember kindly—both for an honest discussion of the Afghan war and the difficulties which its participants are encountering in their native land and for a discussion of Army problems today. We would also like to speak of the newspaper's mistakes in the pages of our own newspaper.

In conclusion we repeat that we will continue to do everything possible to enhance the prestige of our Armed Forces and to ease the lot of former "afgantsy" servicemen, invalids, and the families of the dead. The Army is inseparable from the people—this is our party-minded, human stand. But we do not intend to engage in varnishing reality, however unattractive it may be. As practice has shown, hushing up ugly phenomena has brought no good to either the country or the Army.

Readers' Reactions to Officers' Conference

90UM0105A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Nov 89 First Edition p 1

[Letters from KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers under the title: "On What Concerns Us"—first three paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] **As has already been reported, the Ministry of Defense and the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy have resolved to convene an Army-Wide Officers' Conference which will consider the issue of the progress of perestroyka in the USSR Armed Forces and the tasks of the officer corps in further enhancing it.**

The Army-Wide Officers' Conference is called upon to become an important final event at the stage of completion of the forming of officers' conferences in units and on ships, to establish this institution, to endow it with the status of an advisory organ of the unit commanders and ship captains on all practical issues which concern officers and members of their families, on reinforcing the rule of law and legal order, and on ensuring the social protection of people.

The date of convening the Army-Wide Officers' Conference has been specified—8 and 9 December 1989. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA intends to cover in a constructive manner the preparations for it, to publish the views and proposals by our readers concerning the issues of operation of this new public organization, perestroyka in the Army and the Navy, and the development of the processes of glasnost and democratization in the life of military collectives. Today we are publishing yet another set of letters.

To Rally and To Educate

To my mind, the Officers' Conference will become an educational institution only if it is going to be absolutely democratic. Resolutions of the conference should be carried out by the unit command as long as they do not contravene the law, including resolutions on cadre issues. I also believe that the conference needs a presumption of security or, more precisely, social protection for those voicing the criticism of any commander.

As I see it, the conference may state its lack of confidence in the commander, say, for boorishness and being rude with people, immoral actions, and incompetence as a commander. The officers' conference as a community of members with equal rights is capable of rallying the officer corps in the spirit of patriotism, camaraderie, mutual help, and strict compliance with the standards of morality and honor of the officer.

[Signed] Reserve Colonel L. Berezkin, Vladivistok [passage omitted]

Is the Commander Always Right?

As it happens at present, all of the most significant issues of the service and life of officers are technically resolved by commissions, but actually by a single person—the unit commander. Hopes for a more democratic resolution of these issues appeared when the Provisional Regulations on Officers' Conferences were published. What came out in the course of the discussion? There are too many duties of every kind in the regulations and few rights, and in the instances when the conference does a have a right, it still plays the role of a petitioner. Even voting is supposed to be open, except for electing the council of the conference. You do not have to be a genius to understand that an open vote is democratic given the independence of voters. In a system with subordination as strict as in the army this is sham democracy once again.

One gets the impression that our father-commanders are very reluctant to share their authority with the officer community though; to my mind, it is quite logical that the one-man-command of the commanders should extend only to issues directly associated with combat readiness. As far as other issues are concerned, the Army community should be actually privy to them. There are many issues—for example, the transfers of officers, job placement of their wives, and the allocation of all kinds of benefits—whose resolution in many cases can hardly be called fair. This is why it is necessary to endow the military community with power in the form of officers' conferences if we are to talk seriously about democratization in the army.

[Signed] A. Ivanov

Soldiers Exploit Loophole To Go AWOL

PM2311110989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Nov 89 First Edition p 4

[Captain A. Kurnyayev report: "Tent in the Square. Who Is Playing on Compatriots' National Feelings"]

[Text] Anyone who has found himself in Yerevan's Theater Square this fall has undoubtedly noticed a noisy group of youngsters sitting beside a tent. You can often see a crowd of people around them. The people of Yerevan already know that these are draftees holding a sitdown strike. They liberally grant interviews to local and, in particular, Western journalists.

Here, for example, is a revelation by one of them: "Our demand is that draftees from Armenia serve on its territory, in the earthquake zone. Who should rebuild the destroyed population centers if not we ourselves? In addition, there is no guarantee in the Soviet Army today that the safety of persons of Armenian nationality will be ensured. How many of them have departed this life in recent months...." The "thesis" of a supposedly negative attitude among the troops toward draftees from the republic has even been aired from very authoritative rostrums. The 17 September extraordinary session of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution which states: "Mindful of the fact that numerous instances of the killing, tormenting, and beating of servicemen of Armenian nationality on national grounds have been recorded in the Soviet Army over the past 18 months, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet requests the USSR Supreme Soviet to create real guarantees of a safe life for servicemen of Armenian nationality...." At approximately the same time, a resolution was adopted at a meeting of Yerevan's Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] aktiv which named nine draftees from Armenia who had died. They died, it is pointed out, "solely because of their nationality."

Here is how Major General A. Arutyunyan, military commissar of the Armenian SSR, commented on this:

"There have, unfortunately, been individual cases of servicemen dying. The exacerbated problems of our entire society are undoubtedly manifested in the military milieu. Therefore, the growing number of conflicts on national grounds is alarming. But it is simply absurd to say that there is purposeful persecution of persons of any nationality among the troops."

As for the facts mentioned at the Komsomol aktiv meeting, we should hardly pander to rumors and manipulate figures of this nature without investigating the reasons. For this figure includes people who died as a result of failure to observe safety measures and in accidents.

This is the truth. However, the campaign mounted by certain forces as a counterbalance to the fall draft, as it were, is continuing. Another sitdown demonstration under the slogan "Not One Soldier in the Army of Occupation" was organized in front of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee building. There is a similar picture in a number of rayons of the republic. Cases where soldiers drafted from Armenia have gone absent without leave from units have recently become more frequent. I met one of them—Private L. Vanyan—among the participants in the sitdown demonstration in Theater Square. There have also been cases of certain soldiers on furlough refusing to return to their place of service. Private A. Misakyan explained his reluctance to return to a Siberian Military District military construction unit to the Yerevan Garrison Military Prosecutor's Office by saying that unhealthy interethnic relations had taken shape there. The soldier was totally unfazed by the unsubstantiated nature of his own claims and uninfluenced by a talk with a military jurist who tried to persuade him not to come into conflict with the law. Misakyan evidently had great confidence in his own impunity.

"According to the existing regulations," Justice Lieutenant Colonel V. Vardanyan explained the situation, "cases of this kind are examined at the places of service. But escorts frequently do not come to take an 'absentee' to his unit. At the same time we prosecutor's office employees do not have grounds for taking into custody a serviceman who has gone absent without leave from his unit and compulsorily sending him to his place of service, since the reasons that prompted him to go absent have not been established."

Employees of the republic military commissariat, whose duty it is to check such cases, have reported that recently they have increasingly frequently been receiving replies which do not bear out the complaints and statements of "absentees." Medical Service Lieutenant Colonel G. Smyshlyayev, chief of Yerevan Military Hospital, declared in all responsibility that 80 percent of complaints of beatings allegedly inflicted in subunits are not confirmed.

On the other hand, there are cases of obvious faking. On the part of Private S. Sarkisyan, for example.

It is hard to imagine, you will agree, that Privates A. Misakyan, S. Sarkisyan, and L. Vanyan and certain other soldiers, while serving in different military units, themselves discovered almost simultaneously, without being egged on by anyone, a lacuna in the laws and a lack of coordination in instructions and took advantage of them in such a concerted way. At one of the rallies in Yerevan "informals" asked those present for the addresses of their sons and brothers serving in various parts of the country. So is it not under their influence that cases of servicemen going absent without leave from their units have recently become more frequent?

It has to be said that the campaign against the Armed Forces is based on quite a subtle psychological calculation. The chairman of the "Mercy" Society said in his speech at the extraordinary Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet session that draftees from the republic are allegedly being sent specially to military construction units where the situation regarding military discipline is worst. It was claimed that military commissariats send 100 percent of draftees to these units, but then a more reliable figure was named—40 percent. In fact, this, too, proved almost twice the real figure. The detail for this fall has been halved again. So, by disseminating dubious data and juggling with facts, the "informals" are playing on their compatriots' national feelings, which have been exacerbated at this difficult time for the republic.

How is the situation that has taken shape over the fall draft to be defused? A "roundtable" meeting of servicemen of units of the garrison and the republic military commissariat and representatives of Yerevan's Komsomol aktiv and certain informal organizations took place recently at the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee. The discussion was about military service and interethnic relations in soldiers' collectives. USSR People's Deputy Major General M. Surkov, chief of a political organ, expressed readiness to assist in ascertaining the circumstances of every accident.

G. Akopyan, secretary of the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee, and many other Komsomol activists responded enthusiastically to a proposal by Colonel E. Gevorkyan and Senior Lieutenant D. Nekrasov to disseminate more widely in the republic the experience of neighboring Georgia, whence more than 70 delegations from enterprises and rayons have been sent this year to fellow countrymen's places of service. There is still no council of soldiers' mothers in Armenia, and such visits rarely take place. But they enable people to see servicemen's conditions of military labor, everyday life, and leisure, provide answers to many anxious questions, and have a beneficial effect on the atmosphere in subunits.